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**The Relations between Asylum Seekers/Refugees' Belonging & Identity
Formations and Perceptions of the Importance of UK Press**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to belonging and identity. It is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted among asylum seekers/refugees residing in Scotland between 2006 and 2008 and on a media monitoring of a number of UK newspapers. The interviews were analysed for interviewees' orientations to feelings of belonging and identity with the UK, Scotland and homelands. They were also analysed for interviewees' perceptions (beliefs and understandings) of newspapers' reporting of asylum and importance to their sense of national belonging and national identity forming. The monitoring provided the context of newspapers' reporting of asylum at the time of interviews. It enabled a small-scale examination of media content with reference to interviewees' perceptions.

The thesis explores two assumptions. Firstly, asylum seekers/refugees' national belonging and national identity formations are complex and contingent upon their everyday 'lived' experiences. Secondly, asylum seekers/refugees' belonging and identity formations, as social processes of citizenship, cannot be understood in isolation from the high visibility of the asylum issue in UK media. As an empirical study, therefore, its findings are deployed to critique policymaking, theoretical and media accounts of non-British citizens' forms of belonging to, and identification with the British 'nation'. It is suggested that, in addition to policymaking, there are other social circumstances that would facilitate ethnic minority migrants' national belonging and national identity formations. These factors do not only account for the prioritising of Scottishness over Britishness, but also migrants' 'hyphenated' identities.

This thesis will therefore provide evidence suggesting that non-citizens (ethnic minorities), have their own meanings and agency of orientating to a feeling of national belonging and national identity that is nuanced and contingent on their experiences. The thesis does not aim to establish media causality. However, it highlights the fact that newspaper coverage can evoke responses from marginalised groups and provide the context from which identities are narrated and mobilised. The thesis will improve our understanding of the practices, meanings and contestations of belonging and identity that is grounded in the 'lived' experiences of non-citizens. This sociological dimension to ethnic minorities' citizenship forming is not only poorly understood, but has been dominated by theoretical and policymaking accounts in the contemporary state.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is of my own composition, based on my own work, with acknowledgement of other sources, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Amadu Wurie Khan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
CCG	Community Cohesion Group
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DWP	‘Dog Whistle’ Politics
EJN	Exiled Journalists’ Network
ESRC	European Social Research Council
EUMC	European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
FABULA	Forum of Arts for Better Understanding of Latin American Cultures
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ICAR	Information Centre about Refugees and Asylum
IKAZE	An asylum seeker/refugee combined art group
ILR	Indefinite Leave to Remain
IPPR	Institute of Public Policy Research
ISU	Immigration Services Union
KARIBU	An organisation for East and South African Women
MF	Medical Foundation
NAM	New Asylum Model
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
NRIF	National Refugee Integration Forum
PAIH	Positive Action in Housing
PCC	Press Complaints Commission
RCO	Refugee Community Organisation
SIF	Scottish Integration Forum
SNP	Scottish Nationalist Party
SRC	Scottish Refugee Council

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PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THIS THESIS

The following publications are related to this thesis:

1. Khan, A.W. (2008) 'Countering Media Hegemony, Negative Representations, the 'Bad Citizen': Asylum seekers' battle for the hearts and minds of Scotland', *eSharp*, Issue 11: Social Engagement, Empowerment and Change (Spring 2008).
2. Khan, A.W. (2008) 'Asylum seekers' and refugees' conceptualisation of citizenship: affirming or contesting boundaries of political membership?' June 2008, HYPERLINK "http://www.crfr.ac.uk/spa/spa_index.html" [Challenging Boundaries Social Policy Association Conference](#).
3. Khan, A.W. (2012a) 'Asylum-seeking migration, identity-building and social cohesion: policy-making vs. social action for cultural recognition', *Contemporary Social Science: Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences*, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2012.682087.
4. Khan, A.W. (2012b) 'UK Media's Pathology of the Asylum Seeker & the (mis)Representation of Asylum as a Humanitarian Issue', *eSharp*, Special Issue: The 1951 UN Refugee Convention – 60 Years On (2012) pp. 54-86.
5. Khan, A.W. (2012c) 'The participatory web as space for 'mediated' and 'transnational' citizenships: UK asylum seekers/refugees' 'deterritorialisation' of identity, political participation and claims making', *Int. J. Electronic Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2012 pp.116–133.
6. Khan, A.W. (2013) 'Asylum Seekers/Refugees' Orientations to Belonging, Identity & Integration into Britishness: Perceptions of the role of the mainstream and community press', *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal*, Special issue "Introducing Media, Technology and the Migrant Family: Media Uses, Appropriations and Articulations in a Culturally Diverse Europe" "Transforming Audiences, Transforming societies" - COST ACTION IS0906 153-179 1646-5954/ERC123483/2013 153
7. Khan, A.W. (forthcoming) "New Media Technology, Challenging Boundaries & the Citizenship-Sovereignty Paradox: The case of UK asylum-seeking migrants' transnational politics", (Book Chapter in *Political Activism in the Information Age*, published by IGI Global).

This study explores issues of belonging and identity through 23 interviews with asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. The interviews are supported by an analysis of media coverage at the time of the interviews. The analysis assessed for the reality of interviewees' accounts of media coverage including constructions of asylum seeker/refugee identities. This chapter will define national belonging and national identity, which are the central focus of this study. The chapter will consider why these social processes are more important than 'formal' British citizenship and the attendant 'Marshallian' access to rights. The chapter will also provide definitions of UK newspapers, asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, the rationale for exploring identity issues in Scotland in relation to UK policymaking and news reporting on asylum will be considered. The chapter will provide a summary of the study's main contributions to understanding the relations between issues of asylum, identity and the news media.

1.1 Which Belonging & Identity?

National identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to the 'nation' as an 'imagined' political community (Anthias 2009; Byrne 2007; Jenkins 2006; Gustafson 2002; Anderson 1991). In addition to being 'imagined', national identity involves individual and collective narratives of 'self' and by 'others' in relation to the 'nation' and therefore a process of labelling (Waite 2012; Mccrone and Bechofer 2010; Anthias 2008; Jenkins 2006). Others have argued that national identity is not only 'imagined', but continually reinvented through the states' inclusion-exclusion of others in the face of perceived threat from within and outside its territorial borders (Schlenger 1991; Brookes 1999). National belonging refers to an individual's feeling of being part of a 'nation', and the social bonds and emotional attachments they share with the 'imagined' political community. In this sense, national belonging is about an individual feeling of being part of, and demonstration of, loyalty or allegiance to a so-called national identity (Anderson *et al.* 2011: 557). Both national identity and national belonging are therefore about having a feeling of shared membership of the 'nation' as a collectivity that is experienced through shared values and inclusion.

There are two broad dimensions of national identity. There is the ethnic conception of the 'nation', which places emphasis on ancestry, birth and cultural characteristics that are fixed at birth or acquired during early socialisation (Heath and Tilley 2005: 120; Gellner 1983; Jenkins 2006). The civic dimension of national identity refers to characteristics that can be achieved by individuals without 'ethnic' connections to the state including respect for political institutions, having a sense of shared civic responsibility, full participation and speaking the language (Heath and Tilley 2005: 120; Yousuf 2007: 371). One of the key assumptions of national identity and indeed national belonging is that the world is divided into 'nations'. Yet we know that territorial presence may not constitute an individual's feeling of shared membership or inclusion in the nation-state's national identity. An individual's identity or feeling of belonging could be with any other state beyond the geographical borders of residence or community (Gavin and Sanders 2003; Yousef 2007). Community can imply being part of a collectivity that could be linked with an 'imagined' place, locality, neighbourhood or social institution. It may also imply shared values, aspirations, networks and practices (Anthias 2009). This therefore renders the notion of the 'nation' as the main analytical category of identity and belonging as precarious.

Another assumption of national identity is that members of the 'nation' share a common national character and that an individual's sense of belonging is to this collectivity. For example, when an individual is granted British citizenship, they become a British citizen and are automatically expected by the state to inherit a British national identity. It is therefore not surprising that the UK compel would be British citizens to learn and demonstrate knowledge of the English language and British cultural values and history in order to qualify for British citizenship. As I will explore in *Chapter 2*, the state's prescribing of national identity is a symbolic way of 'imagining' the nation or Britishness (Khan 2012a). In this case, as others have argued, Britishness suggests a national identity where membership is both to the nation as a cultural community and the state as a political community (Gustafson 2002: 464; Yousuf 2007; Fortier 2010; Tyler 2010; Waite 2012). However, being granted British citizenship might not necessarily lead to having a feeling of belonging to the 'nation' or to inherit, accept or share this officially imposed collective national identity. This is because the way feelings of national belonging and identity are experienced may intersect with other social relations and processes such as experiences of structural inequality or exclusion in the political community. For example, as I will explore later, some migrants such as asylum seekers and

refugees face structural inequalities and exclusion that make them feel they do not belong to the UK. This might also be attributed to the dislocations from their homelands, the uncertainty and hostile public attitudes they face in the host country, which make it difficult to locate themselves within a specific 'nation' (see Gellner 1983; Thompson 2001). It is also possible that individuals such as migrants can experience inclusion or have shared values with others within the national community or 'nation' that would enable them to have a sense of belonging to certain social groups and identities such as Muslim, but not have a feeling of belonging to a British national identity. In addition, some asylum seekers and refugee migrants may carry and display or experience multiple national and cultural identities that are defined by their ethnic heritage despite residing in the UK or having attained British citizenship.

A corollary to the above assumptions is that national identity can be an officially 'prescribed' social identity that is granted by the state rather than acquired (Anthias 2009; Jenkins 2006; Thompson 2001: 21). Yet we know that individuals can contest a national identity and that it may be socially constructed, fluid and 'imagined'. As a social construction, it is a social process of an individual's narrative of 'self', 'who they think they are' and 'where they belong', which may not always coincide with that imposed or constructed or 'imagined' by the nation-state (Anthias 2009; Gavin and Sanders 2003). For instance, Scottish is a cultural, civic and political identity in the sense that some Nationalist Scots express aspirations for Scottish independence. Whilst citizenship is British, for this category of Scots, their national and cultural identity is Scottish. Both Scots and refugee migrants therefore may display national and cultural identities that may be defined by their political and cultural values and aspirations, and not by residency or attaining British citizenship. In this respect, many British citizens such as Scots would choose and display through certain markers a Scottish national identity over British for various reasons. Markers are defined as "those social characteristics presented to others to support a national identity claim and look to in others, either to attribute national identity, or receive and assess any claims or attributions made" (McCrone and Bechofer 2010: 922). These markers of Scottishness are manifested through birth, accent, choice and commitment to place of residence, upbringing, physical appearance, name and claims to ancestry (Kielly *et al.* 2001: 36; Bond and Rosie 2006; McCrone and Bechoffer 2008: 124; 2010: 923).

What then can we conclude about the relationship between national identity and national belonging? Firstly, both national belonging and national identity may overlap or are interconnected continuities because they are attributions by others – the state, institutions and individuals. Both are about the construction of ‘otherness’ and what others (people, institutions or the state) think about ‘who they think we are’ (identity) and ‘whether we belong or ‘where we are from’ (Anthias 2009; Jenkins 2006). In this sense, both are about membership, rights and duties, and a process of identification with groups or others. Secondly, national identity may not necessarily be synonymous with national belonging. For example, being granted British citizenship implies the individual can inherit a British national identity. British is therefore an official or documented status of national identity (Livesley 2008; McCrone and Bechoffer 2010). In this regard, McCrone and Bechoffer have argued that national identity is not to be equated with citizenship because it involves “cultural markers of birth, ancestry and accent as well as residency” (2010: 922). Having British citizenship may not lead to an individual or groups having shared belonging or emotional bonds and attachments or a sense of shared membership of the ‘nation’ as a political and cultural community. Even being asked to inculcate British cultural values may not deliver a feeling of belonging to and identification with Britishness for some migrants and Scots for reasons enunciated thus far. As already explained, one can gain British citizenship and reside in the UK, but have no feeling of belonging to the ‘nation’, despite having a sense of attachment to their neighbourhood and social spaces within and beyond the UK (Sales 2010). As I shall show later, a number of forces shape asylum seekers’ and refugees’ belonging and identity formations. They include human rights values; UK government policy and the media that cause social exclusion, stigma and resistance; homeland experiences of persecution; and familial and cultural ties (Durovic 2008; Khan 2012a, c). The nation, the imagined political community and cultural community therefore may not always coincide for members of the state. For many Scots the ‘nation’ or national and cultural community is Scotland, while Britain is the political community. Thirdly, and related to the above, because national identity can be imposed, albeit it by state officialdom, on individuals such as an individual being ascribed a British national identity, it is a formal process of identification. However, an individual may not choose to inherit or accept this national identity for various reasons aforementioned. In this regard, national identity can be contested or chosen by individuals. In contrast, one can expect that because national belonging is about the emotional and social bonds people share with the place or location they inhabit, it cannot be imposed. Arguably,

therefore, national belonging, unlike national identity is about feeling part of, and feeling accepted as part of a community or social fabric (Anthias 2009: 8). For example, some migrants might experience hostile public attitudes that cause them to feel unwelcome, which might cause them to feel emotionally disconnected with the 'nation' or their locality. Some Scots and migrants can have a feeling of belonging to Scotland or Scottishness as the national community. Yet, they may not have a feeling of belonging or emotional attachment to a British national identity. In this case, identity forming may be the result of having an affiliation rather than an emotional attachment or bonding (Hopkins 2007a, b).

Finally, it can be suggested that both national identity and national belonging constitute the affective dimension of citizenship (Zarowski 2004; Gordon 2006; Bloemraad 2006). Both may not be achieved by acquiring 'formal' citizenship alone or from collective cultural identity that is prescribed by the nation-state (Anderson *et al.* 2011; Hoxsey 2011; Gellner 1983). Feelings of national belonging and identity are processes of identification and in a continual state of change in response to forces that are internal and external to the society (Rudolph 2005; Byrne 2007; Anthias 2009; Jenkins 2006). An individual's feeling of national belonging and national identity can therefore be ambiguous and contradictory. Both are not a set of isolated events, but as processes of identification, can only be fully understood through the more careful analysis of individuals' experiences, especially given the lack of precision in some of the theoretical definitions. For instance, this study's cohort self-identified themselves in diverse ways including as Muslim and Christian and their identities shift with respect to different contexts. This suggests that no single social category could define a person's social, cultural and national identity (Gillespie 2007: 285; Jenkins 2006). Although the main focus of this study is on national belonging and national identity, the research design was intended to elicit asylum seekers/refugees' views about their belonging and identity formations in relation to self, community or any other place.

1.2 Why is Belonging & Identity more important than Citizenship?

Why then are feelings of belonging and identity, considered to be more important than citizenship and the attendant (Marshallian) access to rights in the contemporary nation-state? As will be argued in *Chapter 2*, 'Marshallian' rights (social, political and civic) that accompany the legal status of membership or British citizenship are about legal rules that are restricted or protected by officialdom within state territorial borders (Hoxsey 2011; see also

Marshall 1965). In contrast, as discussed above and more of which in the literature review, belonging and identity cannot always be restricted or imposed on individuals. Individuals and groups can claim, contest or negotiate national belonging and national identity. This does not imply that ‘Marshallian’ rights cannot be negotiated or claimed. However, individuals can choose to belong or not belong, and can choose or contest a national identity other than that prescribed by the state, or that comes with membership of the political community. This means that whether citizens or non-citizens, individuals can have a feeling of belonging to, and identity with a national, cultural or political community or ‘imaginary’, irrespective of exclusion from or having access to ‘Marshallian’ rights. This form of belonging and identity formation is not to the nation-state, but might be in relation to an international humanitarian order. Individuals (such as asylum seekers and refugees) can therefore prioritise human rights over ‘Marshallian’ rights in order to seek protection and immunities under international humanitarian law. Individuals can also depend on their sense of belonging to, and identity with a shared humanity or international institutions for claiming, contesting and negotiating ‘Marshallian’ rights (Murphy and Harty 2003). In this regard, access to rights or membership need not be limited to those prescribed by Marshall or the state, neither are they contingent upon territorial presence.

In addition, citizenship that makes possible an individual’s access to ‘Marshallian’ rights could be inclusive and exclusive and an instrument of social stratification (Hoxsey 2011; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). This is because citizenship grants individuals and groups access to state rights, privileges, entitlements and immunities, whilst those not regarded as citizens are excluded (Hoxsey 2011: 916). Belonging and identity may not be about state rights, obligations and entitlements. They may also not be about legal rules that have to be protected by the nation-state, but by other institutions, communities or national territories within and beyond the state. In this sense, as Soysal (1994) has argued, having citizenship is no longer a determinant of eligibility for membership and access to social rights in the contemporary nation-state. For example, rights to access of services that are devolved have a different source than citizenship rights that are granted by the UK government (Stewart and Mulvey 2010). The devolved governance in the UK highlights this possibility where non-citizens such as asylum seekers and refugees can have some social rights (such as access to health, housing and education but not all benefits) and are expected to perform some obligations and responsibilities. This makes belonging and identity more

important than ‘Marshallian’ rights because membership and the boundaries of belonging are based on residency rather than citizenship, even though identity is predicated on national characteristics (Stewart and Mulvey 2010:13; Jenkins 2006). Having some rights may therefore not be dependent on non-citizens having British citizenship. The above ‘internationalisation’ and devolution of rights would suggest that belonging and identity are more important than ‘Marshallian’ rights because they resist a notion of rights that is tied to membership of a single political community. Whereas ‘Marshallian’ access to rights is predicated on the assumption that the political community and the cultural community are the same, and that the state and nation coincide, an individual’s feeling of belonging to, and identity with a community may not coincide with these entities. The Scottish devolved context is a case in point, where Scotland as a country within the UK implies the political and cultural community, the ‘nation’ and the state are not coterminous. Similarly the ‘internationalisation’ of rights renders the ‘nation’ as the main analytical category of belonging and identity as precarious.

Access to ‘Marshallian’ rights has also been critiqued for prioritising an ‘ethnic’ form of national identity over civic identities. Yousef defines civic identity as an individual’s having a sense of shared civic responsibilities and full participation in democratic processes (Yousef 2007:371). As will be explored in this thesis, individuals (citizens and non-citizens) can participate in social, cultural and political activities and create spaces for expressing civic responsibility and a feeling of belonging to localised and multiple identities that are not necessarily mainstream or to the nation-state. In addition, and as will be explored later, individuals may not have access to ‘Marshallian’ rights, but will create spaces for participation in the life and activities of their locality and polity. This is crucial for migrants’ orientation to belonging and identity forming, which highlights the problematic in assuming that national belonging and national identity may always coincide with citizenship (Rosie *et al.* 2006). As Rosie *et al.* (2006: 328) have argued, ‘Marshallian’ rights conflated the ‘nation’, ‘society’ and the ‘state’ that renders community members, nationals and citizens as homogenous, while these boundaries of belonging in the UK multinational state are precarious. By so doing, citizenship is key to ‘Marshallian’ rights, and yet Marshall overlooked the way feelings of belonging and identity with the British polity are crucial for civic identity. The literature review will further explore Marshall’s account of citizenship and its limitations.

1.3 What & Why Asylum Seekers?

The term asylum seekers/refugees refers to individuals that fit into any of the three categories of asylum statuses offered by the UK government, namely; asylum seekers, refugees and persons granted Indefinite Leave to Remain - (ILR). By asylum seeker, is meant someone who has made a formal application for asylum and is awaiting a decision on his or her claim (SRC 2010). In the UK, a refugee refers to a person whose application for asylum has been successful, and is recognised as needing protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention (Refugee Council 2010). The Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) category consists of individuals who have been granted right of residency in the UK on a permanent basis. Focus is on these categories of asylum seekers/refugees because they all have some rights including residency and entitlement to social welfare, particularly access to services that the government deems could enable them to become 'full and equal citizens' (Home Office 2001b). Proof of status was not secured from interviewees for fear that it would undermine trust, bearing in mind that mistrusting asylum seekers/refugees is reminiscent of the ways they are framed in media and political discourses (Jacobsen and Landau 2003; Powles 2004). In this thesis, the term 'refugee' is ascribed to both refugees and individuals with ILR. This is because both categories have permanent residency status, in contrast to asylum seekers who are yet to be granted such rights.

A key methodological caveat would be imperative here, which is, why conflate asylum seekers and refugees and why are they important to issues of identity? The justification for this is that the public, and indeed media narratives, hardly differentiate the two sets of asylum-seeking migrants in depicting them as a problem community that are incapable of inculcating feelings of belonging to the UK and therefore a threat to an 'imagined' Britishness (Sales 2007; Cheong *et al.* 2007; Kofman 2005). As will be explained later, the perceived threat over asylum has generated policies that are aimed at curbing asylum-seeking migration and at facilitating asylum seekers/refugees' identification with British society (Levesley 2008: 4; Home Office 2005a, c). In addition, asylum seekers/refugees, unlike other migrants, are the ones who are most in need of state protection, inclusion and resettlement under international law (Adamo 2007: 27). Nonetheless, the perspectives of asylum seekers/refugees' experiences, meanings and contestations of belonging and identity issues and what makes this possible or impossible is poorly understood. Moreover, eliciting the views of asylum seekers/refugees, is a response to the increasing calls for 'public engagement in policy

development' by those that are the target of the policy (Graham and McDermott 2005; Miller-Idriss 2006). Another justification is that as a 'scare story', asylum, as the literature review will explore, was constructed as a threat to nationhood and framed as a national shared anxiety in ways similar to the coverage of the Mad Cow Disease in the 1990's (see Brookes 1999). It is therefore interesting to explore UK press coverage of asylum as a 'scare story' in relation to media's imagining of the 'nation'.

However, this study assumes that conceptions of Britishness and who belongs or does not belong to its 'imagined' political, cultural and national community are complex and nuanced. The analysis will therefore draw attention to Muslim asylum seekers/refugees. This is because the literature review reveals that media and political discourses represent them as the cultural 'other' that are incapable of identification with British national and cultural values (Modood and Ahmad 2007: 188; Gillespie 2007: 280; Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28; Nagel and Staehelli 2008; Lentin and Titley 2011).

1.4 What UK Newspapers?

One of this study's unexpected findings is the variation in Scottish and London newspaper's coverage of asylum and interviewees' perception of their importance to identifying with Britishness, Scottishness and other national identities. However, as Rosie *et al.* (2006: 330) have highlighted, there is a need for a cautious attitude to categorising newspapers as 'British' or 'Scottish' and the homogenising of the UK press as the 'British (national) press'. This is because the ownership, production, circulation, news coverage and readership of UK newspapers are neither located in, nor follow strict geographical and national boundaries. In addition, Rosie *et al.* (2006, 2004) argued that this problem of distinguishing between UK newspapers along national boundaries has been compounded by Scottish devolution. This is because newspapers traditionally produced in London, though often published in Scotland, stake a claim to Scottishness by reporting news that is specific to Scotland and by using 'tartanised' mastheads. In this thesis, therefore, an attempt has been made to avoid the homogenising of UK newspapers as 'British' or 'national' press' and to incorporate the diverse dimensions to news reporting by the UK press (also Keily *et al.* 2006).

To enable this, newspapers have been categorised into 'Fleet Street', 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Indigenous titles' (Rosie *et al.* 2006, 2004), and 'local-indigenous titles'.

‘Fleet Street’ comprises the broadsheets and tabloid newspapers of the *Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror*, *Sun*, *Telegraph* and *Guardian* that were monitored for this study. ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ refers to versions of these newspapers that circulate in Scotland and usually carry a ‘tartanised’ masthead. ‘Indigenous titles’ refers to newspapers produced in Scotland, namely; *Daily Record*, *Herald* and *Scotsman*. Although not originally included in Rosie et al., newspaper nomenclature, I refer to the *Evening News* and *Evening Times* as ‘local-indigenous titles’. This is because they have a geographical location and circulation in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively. In this thesis, ‘Fleet Street’ and ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ are jointly referred to as ‘London’ newspapers because their production site is traditionally believed to be in London and their readership, circulation and news coverage is more England focussed (Connell 2003; Rosie et al. 2004: 442). ‘Indigenous titles’ and ‘local-indigenous titles’ are referred to here as ‘Scottish’ newspapers. This is because, as mainstream newspapers, they are not surrogates or ‘tartanised’ versions of ‘London’ newspapers. In addition, they “have a high concentration of Scottish news at the expense of UK coverage, foreign news and features when compared to the London press” (Connell 2003: 188).

As discussed elsewhere (Khan 2013), I have also identified another category of newspapers, namely ‘community newspapers’, a discovery that was unexpected yet revealing of interviewees’ reactions to the coverage of asylum seekers/refugees and their perceived importance to identifying with their locality, Scotland and the UK. It also highlights why it is imperative to define types of newspapers because Barclay et al study conducted in Scotland defined these kinds of newspapers as ‘smaller local papers’ (2003: 96). As I argued elsewhere, one has to be cautious about designating local newspapers as ‘local’ or ‘community’ because these conceptions are fluid, nuanced and contingent upon the regulatory context under which they operate (Khan 2013). They are also contingent upon the view of the newspapers’ owners and readers. Arguably, therefore, I interpret ‘smaller local newspapers’ to refer to ‘community newspapers’ in the sense that these newspapers are intended to circulate in a specific area, normally in neighbourhoods or suburbs of a city or town across the UK. In contrast to ‘local’ newspapers that could be mainstream, these ‘smaller local papers’ as community newspapers subsist on relatively low budgets, are normally free or relatively cheaper to buy. They also primarily focus on reporting local issues and providing information about local services, institutions and activities that affect the lives of local

residents. Examples include those identified in the Barclay et al study, namely, the *Rotherglen Reformer* and the *Springburn Herald* and those identified by this study such as the *Pollok Post* and the *West Edinburgh Times* that circulate in the neighbourhoods of Pollok and Wester Hailes in Glasgow and Edinburgh respectively.

1.5 Asylum & Identity in the UK-wide Context

The increased inward asylum-seeking migration in the 1990s is widely believed to have made asylum the most legislated and widely reported issue between the late 1990s and mid-2000s. The debate in media and political spaces has framed asylum seekers/refugees as the cultural ‘other’, and within a binary of the deserving and the un-deserving; the responsible and the non-responsible; the positive ‘self’ and the negative ‘outside other’; the legal and the illegal (Geddes 2005; White 2004; Young 2003; see van Dijk 1997, 2000). The ‘othering’ also presents asylum seekers/refugees as the scapegoats for the breakdown of social cohesion, poor community relations and for the failed British multiculturalism policy (see Gifford 2004:148; Bruter 2004; ICAR 2004; Ejarvec 2003; Speers 2001; Bloch 2000). The polarised debate was intensified in the wake of racial riots between British Asians and British Whites in Northern England in 2001. Right-wing political parties and sections of the media go as far as to blame the recent spate of ‘Islamic’ terrorist attacks on asylum seekers/refugees (Kofman 2005; Lister *et al.* 2007; Gustafson 2002). The high visibility of asylum seekers is blamed for asylum seekers/refugee identities to be constructed in liminal social identities that are a threat to an ‘imagined’ Britishness (Gifford 2004:148; Bruter 2004; ICAR 2004; Ejarvec 2003; Speers 2001; Bloch 2000). This is not to say that there were no positive asylum stories, an issue to be explored later (see Khan 2012b). However, as *Chapter 2* and the media analysis demonstrates in *Chapter 6*, overall the media coverage, particularly the right-wing London tabloid press was biased, negative and stereotypical in representing asylum seekers/refugees (Clark and Campbell 2000; Kaye 2001; Smart *et al.* 2007).

The UK Government’s response includes the imposition of anti-asylum migration policies that have created a citizenship boundary that has stratified civil, economic and social rights for citizens and non-citizens (Morris 1997, 2002; Kofman 2005; Sales 2007; Dwyer 2008). Although asylum seekers/refugees have limited citizenship rights, as UK residents, they are expected by the government to have identification with the supposed cultural values of the nation-state and to perform the same responsibilities as British citizens (Gustafson 2002: 464;

Sales 2007: 183). Although the devolved multinational nature of the UK has compelled the central UK government to make room for the ‘home nations’ or territorial identities, others have argued that this is based on the assumption that the cultural values of Scottishness or Welsh are mainstream and therefore in synch with Britishness (Khan 2012a; Fortier 2010; Byrne 2007; Lentin and Titley 2010). In this sense, conceptions of Britishness are skewed in favour of the White majority. For example, would be citizens are required to complete a citizenship ‘rite of passage’ by successfully completing citizenship classes, tests and oaths before being bestowed British citizenship (Home Office 2001a,c; Path to Citizenship 2008). I refer to this policy as a ‘rite of passage’ because the policy subjects aspiring British citizens to a probationary period of residency, or in the previous government’s (henceforth, referred to as New Labour) parlance ‘probationary citizenship’ (see Khan a, c; Path to Citizenship 2008; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). During this period, would be citizens should demonstrate that: they are capable of ‘good conduct’; have a sense of belonging; inculcate the rights and responsibilities of British citizenship; and integrate or, as others would argue, assimilate, into a British identity (Dwyer 2008: 30; Lister *et al.* 2007; Kofman 2005; Gustafson 2002: 464; see also Castles and Davidson 2000). This ‘integrationist’ and ‘assimilationist’ dimensions to British national identity is discussed in *Chapter 2*. British citizenship is therefore a formalised status that juxtaposes ‘citizens’ of the nation with ‘non-citizens’ (see Odmalm 2007), and British citizenship in proposals introduced under New Labour and to be continued under the current Coalition government should be earned by non-citizens. By so doing, and in addition to the policy being a prerequisite for attaining British citizenship, critics have claimed that the policy is a retreat from multiculturalism, to a ‘technocratic instrument’ for asserting national citizenship and ‘state sovereignty’ (Joppke 1997: 23; Kofman 2005; Lister *et al.* 2007; Khan *forthcoming*). ‘State sovereignty’ is used here to mean “the assertion of final authority within a given territory” (Krasner 1988 in Joppke 1997: 23). ‘National citizenship’ refers to social and political membership by which individuals belong to a single nation-state, with members having the same rights and obligations, and a common cultural and national identity (Gustafson 2002: 464; Howard 2006; Odmalm 2007: 21). National citizenship in this sense is synonymous with British citizenship. The ‘restrictive’ and ‘assimilationist’ policies therefore are predicated on the assumption that increased asylum-seeking migration can only be tolerated if citizens feel political elites are controlling it, and that migrants have a sense of identification with an imagined ‘Britishness’ (see *Chapter 2*, also Fortier 2010; Sales 2007; Statham and Geddes 2006; Kofman 2005: 459; Favell and Geddes 2000; Home Office

2001a). In this sense, policymaking is about state legitimisation by which political elites socially (or culturally) control non-citizens and show that they are accordant with citizens' beliefs about immigration and British national identity (Nolan 1998: 20; Fortier 2010).

There is also scholarly consensus that media treatment of asylum is bound to affect asylum seekers/refugees' wellbeing, their relationship with locals and participation in the life and services in their locality (EUMC 2002; Dwyer 2008; Sales 2007; Lister *et al.* 2007; Speers 2001). This, in turn, could interfere with asylum seekers/refugees' ability to 'assimilate' or integrate around an 'imagined' British cultural and national identity (Dwyer 2008; Sales 2007; Lister *et al.* 2007; Speers 2001). Studies conducted in England and Scotland in the early to mid-2000s lent some significance to these concerns. For example, a study conducted by Barclay *et al.* in 2000 to look into the factors that could interfere with asylum seekers' successful settlement in Glasgow identified that in addition to the dispersal policy, news media may also be a culprit (2003: 8-10). The study found that service providers and asylum seekers/refugees felt that, in addition to government policy, hostile media coverage generated public hostility, stigma and racism that might contribute to asylum seekers/refugees' alienation from the mainstream and hinder integration and good community relations (Barclay *et al.* 2003, 8-10; Sim and Bowes 2007: 740).

Other recent studies by Rutter *et al.* (2007), Levesley (2008), Morrell (2009), ICAR (2010) and Stewart and Mulvey (2010) have explored asylum seekers/refugees' meanings and understandings of belonging and identity in relation to Britishness and UK territorial identities. These studies complement Barclay *et al.*'s findings that government policies including residency, citizenship, inclusion/exclusion, education and attitudes of locals play a role in asylum seekers/refugees' alienation from and integration into the mainstream. The studies, however, go beyond Barclay *et al.* to highlight the linkage between government policies, structural inequalities and alienation, and asylum seekers/refugees' ability to identify with the mainstream. Stewart and Mulvey's work is particularly relevant to the Scottish context because it found that asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland with and without British citizenship face stigma, racism and structural inequalities due to government policies and public hostility. The study concluded that these experiences intersect with their ability to become British citizens, integrate and identify with Britishness and Scottishness. Yet, their study overlooked the media dynamic in these processes.

Other studies conducted in England by Buchanan and Grillo (2003), ICAR (2004), Finney (2005) and Smart et al (2007) were mainly media focussed. These studies found that community actors and asylum seekers/refugees blamed much of the hostile UK media coverage for hostile public attitudes and negative constructions of asylum seekers/refugee identities. Much of the coverage was also blamed for the alienation and exclusion of asylum seekers/refugees. Most of these studies highlighted a link between these negative experiences that England-based asylum seekers/refugees face and their ability to integrate and have a sense of identification with their locality and mainstream (Smart *et al.* 2007; Finney 2005; ICAR 2004; Buchanan and Grillo 2003).

However, some gaps exist in these studies. Most of the studies that have specifically investigated asylum seekers/refugees' meanings and understandings of belonging and identity in relation to Britishness and territorial identities hinted at a media dynamic. Yet, the studies conducted in Scotland have overlooked asylum seekers' perceptions of the reporting to be important to public constructions of refugee identity and the alienation and structural inequalities that asylum seekers/refugees suffer. Although Barclay et al did not specifically intend to investigate the issue of belonging and identity, they found that both community actors and asylum seekers perceived parts of the UK media to play a role in the stigma, public hostility including racism and alienation that asylum seekers' suffer. They also found that community actors express fears that this could hamper asylum seekers' ability to resettle and integrate into the UK and their neighbourhoods. Yet, Barclay et al missed an opportunity to explore how these experiences and perceptions among asylum seekers intersect with their identification with their community and the mainstream. My work attempts to explore, albeit accidentally, how interviewees' alienation, stigma and hostile public attitudes that hinder their ability to resettle and integrate intersect with their meanings, understandings and contestations of identities, be they 'self', national or transnational. This is empirically expedient because theoretical accounts reviewed in *Chapter 2* have suggested a link between media reporting of asylum, public construction of asylum seekers/refugees' racialised identities and asylum seekers/refugees' fragility of identification with the mainstream. This thesis will therefore explore these interconnections through asylum seekers/refugees' experiences to offer insights to the study of mediated belonging and identity in the multinational UK.

More importantly, most of these studies tell us little about how asylum seekers respond to the coverage, although they tell us about the responses of community actors and service providers (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Bowes *et al.* 2009). Such responses included putting in place media monitoring and ‘positive image’ projects to evaluate media’s reporting, to share good practice in coverage and to contest negative media constructions of refugee identity (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Bowes *et al.* 2009: 34). The studies tell us little about either asylum seekers/refugees’ own interpretations, contestations and explanations for the coverage or about how they would like to be covered or for their identities to be constructed. My work therefore grew in significance because the interview data revealed that interviewees were keen to talk about how they would like their identities to be constructed, and their understandings and contestations of the coverage. To date it seems there are minimal empirical studies (and certainly not in Scotland) on asylum seekers/refugees’ views of the importance of the media coverage in orientating them to mainstream identities. There is also no research on Scotland-based asylum seekers/refugees’ self-representation or that tell us how they would like their identities to be constructed in public communication, which can also contribute towards promoting positive images in media and public constructions of this marginalised group of migrants. This is significant because policymakers, community groups and refugee networks have directed efforts towards promoting positive images in UK news media reporting of asylum (Smart *et al.* 2007; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Bowes *et al.* 2009). It is also imperative to elicit asylum seekers’ perspectives of the importance of constructions of refugee identities for their identity forming.

In addition, most of the studies found that asylum seekers/refugees participate in volunteering, professional development through education and training and social interaction such as befriending of locals. In particular and of relevance to the Scottish context, Stewart and Mulvey (2010) and Barclay *et al.* (2003) found that these practices can facilitate asylum seekers/refugees’ inclusion, integration and resettlement into the mainstream. However, both studies missed an opportunity to explore how these practices constitute proactive social actions that Scotland-based asylum seekers/refugees deploy to create spaces for orientating to national belonging and national identity. This might explain why my work raises serious questions about Stewart and Mulvey’s reproduction of claims that “there is no relationship between sense of belonging and identity with Britain and volunteering and participation in

voluntary associations” (also Heath and Roberts 2005). As discussed in *Chapter 7*, this study will explore how asylum seekers/refugees in partnership with locals and through their own volition undertake social actions including volunteering to orientate to, and as markers of localised, national and transnational identities.

There is another unexpected finding that makes this study grow in significance, that of the role of ‘community newspapers’. Most of the Scotland studies have overlooked asylum seekers’ perceptions of the role of the community press in reporting the asylum issue and its importance, if any, to asylum seekers/refugees’ identity forming, stigma and alienation. For example, while Barclay et al (2003) have provided important insights about community actors’ praise for the positive coverage of asylum seekers/refugees in the community press or ‘smaller local papers’, they did not explore this issue with asylum seekers/refugees. They therefore missed an opportunity to explore with asylum seekers/refugees their views of this category of newspapers’ treatment of them and implications for processes of inclusion and identification with their locality. My work will reveal unique insights into interviewees’ perceptions of the importance of ‘community newspapers’ to constructions of refugee identities among locals as well as interviewees’ social inclusion and identification with their locality and Scotland (Khan 2013).

It should be noted that while much of the UK media coverage reviewed in *Chapter 2* was mainly hostile, the consensus was that this is changing towards a favourable one in the Scottish newspapers. In Scotland in particular, Sims and Bowes observed that by 2005 anecdotal evidence suggests that “high profile protests at the forced removal of asylum seekers from Scotland have led to more positive media coverage of asylum seekers” (2007: 743). My work is therefore empirically expedient for investigating the continuities and divergences between previous and recent media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees. The monitoring not only offered an opportunity to test this ‘Sim and Bowes hypothesis’, but also examined asylum seekers/refugees’ opinion about the differences in the coverage, if any.

1.6 Why Scotland & Newspapers in the ‘National’ Context?

It is against this context of the complexity of belonging and identity processes, and the variation in access to rights for asylum seekers that Scotland is an interesting place to explore these affective dimensions of citizenship within the multinational UK state. Given that many contemporary notions of citizenship associate it with non-state nuances, Scotland’s lack of statehood makes it problematic for “national citizenship to be a surrogate for national belonging” (Bond 2006: 610). As highlighted above, Scotland has been characterised as a country whose inhabitants (both whites and ‘hyphenated’ or ethnic minority Scots) have shown a multiple sense of belonging and identities, particularly in relation to Scotland and the UK (Hussain and Miller 2005; Rosie *et al.* 2006). This implies inhabitants may feel their nation is Britain or Scotland, or indeed both (Rosie *et al.* 2006: 328; Goldsmith 2009; McCrone and Bechofer 2010). This is because people in Scotland feel either Scottish and or British, and some people do not. Understanding Scotland’s non-White or ethnic minority residents’ feelings of belonging to and identity with Scotland and the UK can therefore be potentially complex. This is especially because British citizenship policies are aimed at identity building, or nation building around an ‘imagined’ British national identity (Rudolph 2005; Khan 2012a). Although policies make provision for building migrants’ localised knowledge, these mainstream identities are framed as Britishness. For instance, Scotland-based migrants aspiring to be British citizens are also expected to go through the citizenship classes, British cultural values and histories. As I have explained, policymaking becomes a tool for identity building around a British cultural imaginary at the expense of a Scottish national identity (see Kofman 2005; Lentin and Titley 2011). However, it is misleading to assume that for ethnic minorities, naturalising would enable them to inculcate identification with Britishness. In this case, for many ethnic minorities, including Scots, the ‘nation’ might not always correspond to the state (see Keating 2009: 505), a hypothesis that warrants empirical investigation. Yet, as highlighted earlier, we know that asylum seekers/refugees enjoy relatively better social rights and entitlements in Scotland than their counterparts in England that may influence their identification with the mainstream. It is therefore interesting to explore which other factors intersects with asylum seekers/refugees’ identification with Scotland.

Another justification for exploring a Scottish dimension relates to the question – What do newspapers contribute to the debate about identity issues in the multinational UK state? As

already explained and more of which later in the literature review and *Chapter 6*, there was routinised coverage of asylum seekers/refugees as a threat to the national community or Britishness. In addition, the UK press has been often homogenised as ‘British’ or ‘national’ and purports to speak for the whole of Britain, subsuming the national identities of the ‘stateless nations’ of Scotland and Wales (Brookes 1999: 250). Newspapers need not make explicit reference to British national identity, but can do so in subliminal ways by the reproduction of nationalistic rhetoric (Brookes 1999: 555; Rosie *et al.* 2006). Understanding the media dynamic in these processes has been further limited because much of the analysis has homogenised the UK press as British, English or national. For example, England-based studies conducted between the 1990 and mid-2000 by Kaye (1998, 2001), Clarke and Campbell (2000), Buchanan and Grillo (2003) and Smart *et al.* (2007) focussed on ‘English’ editions of British newspapers. Much of the studies assumed that English and British newspapers are synonymous and treated them as the national press. These studies therefore lent themselves to the criticism that the England-based studies have overlooked the Scottish context of asylum reporting. The Scottish-based studies including those of Barclay *et al.* (2003), Mollard (2001) and Wilson (2004) in some ways tried to address this limitation. However, my work renders their studies susceptible to similar conceptual and analytical criticisms. Barclay *et al.*’s analysis assumed ‘Scottish edition of Fleet Street’ newspapers to be national, while those produced and circulating in Scotland are described as Scottish newspapers. In contrast, Mollard (2001) and Wilson (2004) conflated both Scottish titles and ‘Scottish editions of London’ titles as Scottish newspapers. These categorisations of newspapers are problematic because what they assumed to be ‘national’ or ‘Scottish newspapers’ continues to be debatable. My reading of their categorisation is that they assumed ‘national’ to be the UK and ‘Scottish editions of London’ titles to be Scottish newspapers. However, we know that what they referred to as ‘Scottish editions of London’ (and referred to in this thesis as ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’) titles have been recognised as eager to portray their independence from their sister ‘Fleet Street newspapers’ (or ‘London’ titles). The Scottish editions, albeit in variable ways, have attempted to assert a Scottish identity by having ‘tartanised’ mastheads and a high concentration of Scottish news at the expense of UK coverage in comparison to ‘Fleet Street’ titles (Kiely *et al.* 2006; Rosie *et al.* 2006, 2004; Connell 2003: 188). We also know that it is simplistic to assume that news reporting or newspaper readership follow strict ‘national’ boundaries relating to Scotland, England and the UK (Rosie *et al.* 2006, 2004; Connell 2003). Therefore, the analyses

homogenised 'Fleet Street' and their 'Scottish editions' as 'national', or 'Scottish editions of London' titles and Scottish newspapers as Scottish. This tells us little about the nuances in political geography of asylum reporting in the UK with reference to the homeland nations. We also know that there is a Scottish dimension to reporting of significant socio-political issues such as asylum as already explained. The media content that was generated by this study therefore provided an opportunity for understanding the relations between coverage of asylum in different UK newspapers and processes of identity (see Brookes 1999). This analysis became even more significant because of the unexpected finding of asylum seekers/refugees' experiences of variations in UK newspapers treatment of them and how these are perceived to be important to their orientations to Britishness and Scottishness.

This thesis therefore will develop our understanding of asylum seekers/refugees' meanings, practices and contestations of belonging and identity formations in the multinational UK state. As explored in the literature review, 'Britishness' and historically British citizenship has been perceived in policymaking as a legal status, devoid of social underpinnings and a political rather than a cultural identity (see Rutter *et al.* 2007; Fyfe and Findlay 2006; Morrell 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 60). This has led to calls in the academy (see for instance Morrell 2008; Sales 2010) and policymaking (see for instance Goldsmith 2009; Levesley 2008; Goodhart 2006) for a conception of citizenship that includes the multiple belongings to and identities with the political, cultural and national communities within the contemporary state. Such an investigation will develop an understanding of the dynamics behind ethnic minorities' belonging and identity formations (Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Goldsmiths 2008; Parekh 2008; Ehrkamp and Leittner 2006). This thesis is a response to this call for a 'bottom-up' understanding of forms of belonging to and identifications with the political, cultural and national 'imaginaries' within the contemporary nation-state. It is also a response to calls for research to address the gaps in understanding audience reception of media messages, particularly in shaping ethnic minorities' attitudes, behaviours and social relationships (Statham 2002: 415; EUMC 2002: 68; Murphy 1998).

1.7 Contributions of Study

It is worth highlighting that, as with many qualitative studies that are underpinned by a sociological analysis; some of the findings were unexpected. The findings grew in significance as I interacted with the literature and in relation to current debates about migrant identity formations in multicultural democracies and in a future independent Scotland. Its specific contributions in this regard are therefore manifold:

Migrants' belonging and identity formations

Firstly, this study would improve our understanding of the drivers behind ethnic minorities' national identity formations and preferences in the UK as a multicultural democracy. For example, it explores the premise that, in addition to policies, there are other facilitators including transnational activities, parenthood and post-colonial experiences of ethnic minority migrants' national belonging and national identity formations. These factors do not only account for the prioritising of Scottishness over Britishness, but also migrants' 'hyphenated' identities. Moreover, few studies have explored whether or not migrants' diverse cultural and national identities are a barrier to their feeling of belonging to an 'imagined' British national and cultural identity (see for example Buaback in IMISCOE 2008: 15; Khoser 2007; Engberson and Leerkes 2006). The thesis therefore provides unique insights to inform this debate by suggesting that current media and political discourses that doubt Muslim Britons' loyalty to and ability to have a feeling of belonging to and identify with British cultural values as misplaced (Modood and Ahmad 2007: 188). More importantly, previous studies conducted in Scotland by Hopkins among British Asians (2007b) and Stewart and Mulvey among asylum seekers/refugees (2010) overlooked the cultural dynamic to formations of national belonging and national identities among these ethnic minorities. My work explores how cultural practices are crucial for the transmission of homeland cultural heritage and values, as well as transnational connections and identities among migrants. This study also explores a significant proposition that while the decline of Britishness and the resurgence of Scottishness among Scots might be attributed to a British colonial past (Morrell 2008: 33), for some migrants it might be a facilitator. This thesis will therefore contribute knowledge that non-citizens (ethnic minorities), have their own meanings and agency of orientating to a feeling of national belonging and national identity that is nuanced and contingent on their experiences. It also offers empirical substantiation of the resilience of

British multiculturalism and transnational forms of belonging and identity among migrants (Nordberg 2006; Kymlycka 1995; Marion Young 1989).

Debate about ‘media effects’ & self-representation

While this thesis does not seek to establish a causality link between media coverage and social processes, it explores how media’s social construction influences the way that media consumers perceive their world irrespective of their lack of inherent validity (Hart 2007). Media coverage also triggers reactions and responses that offer us a window into what makes feelings of belonging and identity with the host society possible or farfetched for forced migrants. The thesis therefore explores the idea that, in addition to government policies, other powerful institutions of society are complicit in forced migrants’ orientations to affective dimensions of citizenship. The thesis, for instance, explores how parts of the news media, in ways similar to the government policies, compound the psychosocial trauma and social exclusion that ‘forced migrants’ suffer. This, in turn, would influence their ability to develop a feeling of belonging and identity with Scotland or the UK (Tyler 2006: 199; Sales 2007: 5). Nonetheless, the thesis explores the idea that this intersection between much of the negative coverage and asylum seekers/refugees’ belonging and identity forming is nuanced. The thesis therefore explores how the coverage triggers asylum seekers/refugees’ proactive social actions that create spaces for developing feelings of belonging and identity, learning about British social, political and cultural values.

The thesis synthesises interviewees’ proactive social actions and practices to tender an asylum seekers/refugees’ version of responsible ‘active’ citizenship. It explores interviewees’ perceptions, social actions and practices that challenge the attempts by policies and media stories to shape migrants’ identification with a British cultural and national imaginary. These actions suggest that Britishness and indeed, citizenship is a contested concept. The thesis would therefore contribute to further understanding of the practices of identity or nation building among ethnic minorities, and what for them constitutes Britishness and Scottishness. It would also contribute knowledge that migrant identity formations suggest a kind of response and resistance to media hostility and public attitudes that are framed by media constructions and anti-asylum policies (Anthias 2009; Hopkins 2007a).

Another significant contribution is that the thesis explored in more detail than before the distinction in the treatment of asylum seekers/refugees in the ‘Scottish’, ‘Scottish edition of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’ newspapers. This difference of a more favourable asylum coverage in the Scottish press, including the community newspapers, than the ‘London’ press (meaning ‘Scottish edition of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’), is perceived to contribute to asylum seekers/refugees’ prioritising a Scottish over a British identity. In addition, to date it seems there are minimal empirical studies (and certainly not in Scotland) on asylum seekers/refugees’ opinions about the role of community newspapers in their orientations to social processes of citizenship. In this sense, the thesis helps us to understand how mediated belonging and identity might be contingent on variations in the news reporting according to newspaper types and geography.

To date, very little exists in the literature about Scotland-based asylum seekers/refugees’ explanations and understandings for the media treatment of them. Neither have their preferred forms of self-representation been explored. This study provides a ‘victim’ perspective on the ways they would like their identities as well as aspirations for and experiences of membership of the ‘nation’ to be represented. It also provides their opinions on the motivations behind much of the negative reporting, its ‘dog whistle’ politics and ‘new racism’. ‘New racism’ constitutes the discursive strategies for ‘cultural othering’ of asylum seekers/refugees as ‘folk devils’ with demeaning cultural and national identities and as a threat to an imagined British cultural or national identity (Lugo-Ocando 2010; Lynn and Lea 2003: 446). The thesis therefore employs empirical evidence to build on and to comment on theoretical and normative approaches to understanding the complexity of ‘dog whistling’ in asylum reporting and the analytical possibilities that victims of negative media coverage can offer to interpreting media’s covert racialised construction of identities.

Methodological Insights

I will reflect on the research process to explore the benefits and challenges derived by being an ‘insider’ in researching vulnerable groups (Bloch 1999; Jacobsen and Landau 2003; Hynes 2003; Kosygina 2005; Dona 2007). The thesis explores the utility of employing ideas of ‘intersectionality and ‘translocational positionality’ in understanding issues of identity, recruiting research participants and interviewee expectations from the researcher. It will also

explore the possibility that fears expressed by Hopkins that ‘intersectionality’ will preclude a deeper sociological understanding of migrant identity formations are misplaced.

1.8 Structure of Thesis

The following chapter is the literature review and provides the conceptual framework for the thesis. It will explore how having a feeling of national belonging and national identity is a prerequisite for British citizenship and other ‘non-legalistic’ forms of citizenship. It will also consider how news media function as a citizenship forming institution through constructing, upholding and propelling certain narratives of asylum, race and ethnicity that can make migrants’ feeling of belonging to, and identity with an ‘imagined’ Britishness either possible or far-fetched. The chapter will suggest that this media agency is similar to ways traditionally supported by policymaking, or other institutional structures such as the welfare state (Hoxsey 2011).

Chapter 3 will outline the reasons and processes involved in using two data gathering methods for this study, namely, interviews and media monitoring. It will also explain how both methods complement each other and their inherent strengths and weaknesses. The chapter provides the reasons for employing ideas of ‘intersectionality’ and ‘translocational positionality’ jointly to explore identity formations. In addition, it outlines the research aims and research questions and how they were operationalised in the study. The research cohort and locales are profiled; and the sampling and recruitment process explained. Further, the chapter considers ethical and reflexivity issues that underlie data analysis, interpretation and representation of interviewees’ responses. This chapter will discuss the methodological insights relating to the ‘insider’ status and the issue of ‘positionality’ in qualitative research. The methods of selection of newspapers, their monitoring and analysis are also explained.

Chapter 4 will explore the forms and motivations of national belonging and national identity among asylum seekers/refugees to suggest that identities are multiple, complex, fluid and transient. It identifies the physical and emotional dimensions to asylum seekers/refugees’ belonging and identity forming. In addition, asylum seekers/refugees’ prioritising of Scottishness over Britishness are explored. The chapter therefore will provide insights that will develop our understanding of the linkages between feelings of belonging to, and identity forming among asylum seekers/refugees in the multinational UK state.

Chapter 5 is an exploration of interviewees' beliefs about and explanations of news media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees. It mainly focuses on how perceptions of the media coverage influence asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of belonging to and identity with the UK, Scotland, homelands and any other community. Interviewees' perceptions of an asylum-friendly coverage in much of the Scottish press, particularly the community newspapers, as opposed to the London press are explored. Interviewees' perceptions of the Scottish press' contribution to their prioritising of a Scottish identity over British are also considered. The chapter therefore will provide unique insights that in addition to government policymaking, news media plays a role in asylum seekers/refugees' fragility of belonging to and identity with the UK. Also insightful, is that it presents asylum seekers/refugees' own explanations for the coverage and their preferred forms of representation. These insights will address the lack of empirical work on the perspectives of asylum seekers/refugees, as non-citizens and victims of media communication, to inform policymaking and theorising on media and citizenship. Moreover, the chapter reveals the paradoxical outcome to interviewees' experiences of news coverage: while parts of the media coverage are widely believed to represent an 'imagined' Britishness, at the same time it strengthens some interviewees' transnational belonging and identities.

Chapter 6 will present the themes in the coverage at the time of fieldwork. It will explore how media depictions of the asylum seekers/refugees reflect or depart from those of interviewees. Interviewees' perceptions that public construction of refugee identities is similar to those of media narratives are also considered. The chapter will explore the variation in Scottish and London newspapers' coverage of asylum.

Chapter 7 is the first of the discussion chapters and will synthesise findings of the interview and media monitoring data to critically engage with theoretical and policymaking accounts on migrants' belonging and identity formations in the West. It will explore the relationship between acquisition of British citizenship and asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of belonging to, and integration into national and cultural identities. It will specifically discuss the insights into belonging and identity forming that can be gained from interviewees' experiences of media treatment. It will explore how asylum seekers/refugees make attempts at contesting the state's prescription of British national identity, and why such contestations constitute both a

process of identity building and ‘disidentification’ by ethnic minority migrants. It explores the theme of agency in interviewees’ contestations of negative depictions of asylum seekers/refugees and as incapable of responsible behaviour and a threat to British cultural values. In this respect, the chapter raises the question as to whether interviewees’ understandings, contestations and practice of citizenship ought to be considered as an asylum seekers/refugee ‘version’ of responsible citizenship.

Chapter 8 engages critically with issues identified in the literature relating to migrants’ mediated belonging and identity formations in the West. It will explore interviewees’ beliefs about UK media treatment of asylum to provide a victim’s perspective in understanding ‘dog whistle’ politics. The chapter will explore how, in addition to government policy making, sections of UK news media might play a role in exacerbating forced migrants’ psychosocial problems culminating in their fragility of belonging to and identification with the UK. The chapter argues that while establishing media causality is problematic, we should, at least, entertain the idea that other powerful institutions of society may provide the context from which identities are narrated, ‘imagined’ and mobilised by and among forced migrants (Khan 2013). It will therefore suggest a rethink in our approach to understanding victim narratives no matter whether such accounts are common sense views and ambiguous.

Chapter 9 will conclude by drawing attention to how belonging and identity as the guiding concept of the study has been sustained throughout the thesis. It identifies some gaps and future directions for empirical work on identity formations among asylum seekers/refugees. The chapter’s concluding remarks will highlight key issues of migrant identity forming.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will critically review theoretical perspectives of forms of citizenship for their application to would be citizens including asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to feelings of British national belonging and national identity. It will also review government policies that are aimed at three broad outcomes: at curbing asylum-seeking migration through the regulation of membership or belonging to the UK, at creating what others have referred to as 'Fortress Britain', and at promoting an 'imagined' 'Britishness' with common values among would be citizens (Woodward 2006). The chapter will explore how government policies are, broadly speaking, aimed at identity building of the 'nation'. The chapter will also review the UK media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees in the 1990 to mid-2000 that gave rise to concern about asylum seekers/refugees inability to develop feelings of belonging to and integrate or 'assimilate' into an 'imagined' Britishness (Gillespie 2007). The question about how belonging and identity are formed through the news media is also addressed.

2.1 Belonging & Identity: the national citizenship dimension

Traditionally, British citizenship is broadly understood in terms of a 'Marshallian' notion of citizenship, which is about the nation-state conferring rights and responsibilities on individuals. Marshall considered citizenship as offering three broad types of rights to members of the polity: political, social and civil rights. Political rights make the individual entitled to political participation including the franchise; social rights are about individuals' entitlement to social welfare; and civil rights protect the individual from discriminatory treatment and exclusion (Marshall 1950, 1965). As explored in *Chapter 1*, Marshall thought that extending social rights to marginalised individuals would facilitate their ability to exercise civil, economic and political rights (Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Dwyer 2008). This makes 'Marshallian' citizenship primarily a social citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Dwyer 2008). Marshall believed that access to welfare to those who are regarded as being citizens of the nation-state would facilitate their sense of belonging and shared identity with a political community or the nation-state. Citizenship in this sense is conceptualised as having a 'legal', 'social' and 'functional' status (Safran 1997; Dwyer 2008: 6).

As a 'legal' status, an individual is conferred membership to a state based on legal status of birth or *jus soli*, descent and ethno-cultural identity or *jus sanguinis* as well as by naturalisation especially emanating from residency or *jus domicili* (Sales 2007; Castles and Davidson 2000). The individual inherits a 'social' status and a national identity and/or nationality, which is British. Being a British citizen, enables them to enjoy certain welfare rights in equal measure to all citizenry (Jenkins 2006). In return, and as part of the 'functional' status of citizenship, they owe certain responsibilities and obligations to the political community (Odmalm 2007; Safran 1997; Kymlicka and Norman 1994). For Gustafson (2002), Marshall's legal, social and functional roles of being a citizen are underpinned by a national citizenship order. This means that membership is to both the state as a political community and to the nation (British) as a cultural community in which all citizens should have the same rights and responsibilities or obligations (Gustafson 2002: 464). Membership also comes with special privileges that are distinguishable from those of non-citizens even though membership is open to long-term residents (Odmalm 2007: 21). There is an expectation that all members should assimilate around the cultural and national identity of the state around "a particular set of common practices and characteristics" (Dwyer 2008: 167; Gustafson 2002). Kymlicka and Norman (2000) observed that by prioritising national identity for accessing social welfare in the UK, Marshall regarded citizenship, especially social citizenship in two ways: one, as a way of integrating previously excluded groups such as workers and other 'marginals' within British society; and two, as a way to provide national unity (Kymlicka and Norman 2000: 369). 'Marshallian' national and social citizenship therefore offers possibilities for equality (or having equal rights or social inclusion) and inequality (or social exclusion) of individuals in the state, in relation to their status as citizens or non-citizens (Hoxsey 2011: 928). The acquisition of citizenship should level out the social and political inequalities that exist in the state (Hoxsey 2011: 928). Issues around who is entitled to certain social welfare and the basis of their qualification for those entitlements are constitutive of the social citizenship debate (Dwyer 2008: 9).

However, Marshall's theory of political, legal and social citizenship has been criticised on the basis that it failed to reflect the gender, ethnic and cultural diversity of contemporary British society (Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Miller 2002; Sassen 2002; Stevenson 2003; Gordon 2006). It failed to account for the multi-level states within the UK, and assumed that the 'nation', 'political community' and 'state' are coterminous (Keating 2009: 505; Rosie *et al.*

2006: 328). In the case of Scotland, this is problematic, as this assumption fails to consider that ‘nation’, ‘state’ and even ‘political community’ may differ, and individuals in Scotland would probably have cultural allegiance to the Scottish nation rather than assimilate around the cultural collectivity of the UK state. In this case, the ‘nation’ and the ‘state’ as well as the boundaries of belonging are disputed (Keating 2009: 506). ‘Given Marshall’s purpose was to highlight the evolutionary nature of the rights bestowed by the British state, it is entirely unsurprising that this was the case. Very recently, Goldsmiths’ citizenship review suggested that state responsibilities have evolved from mere protection to provision of welfare, and that this has been reflected in the devolved legislatures of Scotland (Goldsmiths 2009: 82). He also recognised that individuals in the different nations and sub-states of the UK might be capable of expressing cultural allegiances to Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. British citizenship, therefore, must make room for these expressions of dual cultural and national belongings and identities (Goldsmiths 2009: 87). His review also stated that inward migration, and attendant diverse cultural identities that migrants’ have meant that the UK should pay attention to how newcomers become part of the citizenship settlement (Goldsmiths 2009: 82). The Marshall model has also been criticised for placing too much emphasis on rights and less on the individual’s responsibilities. This anomaly was addressed under New Labour when responsible ‘active’ citizenship was accorded prominence, as is now discussed.

2.2 Belonging & Identity: the ‘responsible’ citizenship dimension

In contrast to Marshall, responsible ‘active’ citizenship prioritised the individual’s responsibilities over rights. Arguably, it might be that this form of citizenship was an attempt by political elites to strip citizenship from its nation-state identity and ‘ascriptive’ criteria to universal inclusion and participation in decision-making processes for all in the political community (Bader 1995). Blunkett¹ (2003) articulated New Labour’s rationale for this policy as aiming to create:

...strong, active and empowered communities – increasingly doing things for themselves, defining the problem[s] they face and then tackling them together
(David Blunkett 2003 quoted in Brannan *et al.*, 2006: 996).

¹ David Blunkett served as Secretary to the Home Office in 2003.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Khan 2012a), New Labour policies – through their responsibility-based approach - call on all individuals to take seriously their responsibilities in addition to making claims regarding their rights (Dwyer 2008; Meekosha and Dowse 1997). Under the mantra of ‘with rights come responsibilities’, New Labour has promoted a ‘responsible’ citizenship agenda in its social and welfare policies (Dwyer 2008: 72; Lister 1997). British citizens are required to exercise individual and collective responsibility in performing duties and obligations in the interest of the public good, and to contribute to political debate and social action (Brannan *et al.* 2006: 996, Meekosha and Dowse 1997). Citizenship is conceptualised as a ‘civic virtue’ that is displayed by a ‘moral’ individual who distinguishes between a ‘good’ and ‘bad’ citizen (Dagger 2002, in Doheny 2007: 207). The individual is expected to accept and ‘perform’ the responsibility of belonging and identifying with an ‘imagined’ Britishness, which is crucial for social cohesion (Habermas 1996; Bohman 2000; Clarke 2005; Doheny 2007: 409; Cheong *et al.* 2007: 40). In this respect, Safran (1997: 314) noted that responsible ‘active’ citizenship prioritises ‘functional’ over ‘ascriptive’ criteria for citizenship. ‘Ascriptive’ refers to citizenship by birth, descent and religio-cultural identity, and ‘functional’ is about the rights and responsibilities of the individual. This is because the ‘responsible’ active citizenship policy allows for formally excluded groups that do not qualify for ‘ascriptive’ right to citizenship or are excluded from citizenship entitlements to participate in planning, decision-making and service delivery processes in their community (Stewart 1995: 65, Brannan *et al.* 2006). Proponents of the policy have argued that, for ethnic minorities, being a responsible ‘active’ citizen is significant for orientating to a feeling of belonging and identity with the UK (Clarke 2005; Doheny 2007). It can therefore be argued that responsible citizenship prioritises a civic form of belonging and identifying with the ‘nation’.

Responsible citizenship is criticised for being prescriptive especially on values or ‘virtues’ of Britishness, and too focused on personal actions that are expected from individuals (Doheny 2007: 408). It prescribes problems as being individualised rather than structural, and therefore antithetical to promoting social inclusion and equality of individuals, particularly disenfranchised groups such as ethnic minorities. An example of this value-based prescription of what is expected of responsible citizens is evident in political and media discourses as my analysis will explore (see *Chapters 6, 7 & 8*). For example, media and political elites expect

asylum seekers/refugees to abstain from being ‘dependent’ on the welfare state despite being excluded from a right to paid employment. Asylum seekers/refugees are expected to inculcate cultural and national values and identities, yet, the UK government and its policies have been opaque on what Britishness constitutes. Even recently mooted proposals by the current coalition government’s Home Secretary, Teresa May to amend the citizenship test are still vague except to say that the learning of British history and instilling patriotism on migrants will be prioritised (*The Guardian*, Sunday, 1 July 2012).

Another critique of responsible citizenship is that it fails to tender any theory on how the responsible citizen undertakes their actual responsibilities of belonging and identifying with an ‘imagined’ Britishness, save for calls for members to undertake mutual responsibility through volunteering (Doheny 2007). This criticism was counterbalanced by Jacqui Smith, then Home Secretary, on the basis that New Labour “recognise the differing levels of capacity that individuals will have to undertake activities” (*Path to Citizenship* 2008: 29; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 8). *Chapter 7* will attempt to provide an asylum seeker response to undertaking these responsibilities.

Save for prioritising individuals’ responsibilities over rights (and Marshall’s failing to include gender, ethnic and national dimensions in accessing social, economic and political participation), therefore, New Labour’s responsible ‘active’ citizenship echoes ‘Marshallian’ citizenship. Both are anchored on the individual’s sense of belonging or shared membership of a collective cultural identity rather than expanded to include ethnic, national and social minorities, who might have felt excluded from the political community as a result of their socio-cultural identity (Nordberg 2006: 370). In these respects, critiques have argued that national and responsible ‘active’ citizenship confronts the historical multicultural model of citizenship, and is therefore illusory (Gustafson 2002). In addition, responsible ‘active’ citizenship overlooks the implications for Scots including migrants’ formations of belonging and identification that might be to the Scottish nation rather than the UK state. As *Chapters 5, 7 & 8* will explore, the structural inequalities and hostile media treatment potentially influences asylum seekers/refugees’ identification with Scotland as a nation. In this sense, at least for migrants, the instrumental level of participation influences the affective level of identification (Bloemraad 2006).

As I have explored elsewhere, the so-called ‘responsibilization’ agenda highlights the overarching relationship between an individual’s ability to have a sense of belonging and identity, on the one hand, and to integrate into Britishness, on the other (Khan 2013). Integration in this regard incorporates the social inclusion of asylum seekers/refugees in local and national service delivery (Staeheli and Nagel 2008). Richmond (2002) has argued that social inclusion for asylum seekers/refugees is about being able to participate in service provision and socially interact with local residents in their neighbourhoods and the public at large (2002: 41). Integration therefore encapsulates social processes and relations that impinge on asylum seekers/refugees’ ability to access social welfare and participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of their local community and the polity (Nagel and Staeheli 2008; Cheong *et al.* 2007; Gillespie 2007). As others have argued, these social processes of integration in multicultural polities relate to belonging and identification with a collectivity that could be linked with an ‘imagined’ identity, place, locality, neighbourhood or social institution (Phillips and Berman 2003: 347; Ager and Strang 2004). It was in this respect, that New Labour introduced ‘integrationist’ and social cohesion policies to facilitate feelings of and integration into Britishness among migrants, particularly asylum seekers/refugees (Turner 2006: 615; Waite 2012; Tyler 2010; McGhee 2009). For example, the ‘citizenship classes, tests and oath’ policy required migrants to demonstrate knowledge of English and British cultural values and history as indices of integration before being granted British citizenship (Khan 2012a; Home Office 2001a, 2005; Waite 2012: 353; McGhee 2009: 45). Fortier has argued that this policy prioritises cultural ‘bridging’ over ‘bonding’ because it would yield more favourable attitudes and feelings among immigrants towards the White majority’s preference of British cultural values at the expense of connecting to transnational identities (2010: 26). It is therefore ‘neo-assimilationist’ rather than ‘multiculturalist’ in intention, and a retreat from multiculturalism (Fortier 2010; Nagel and Staeheli 2008: 6; Gillespie 2007: 276). It is ‘neo-assimilationist’ because they prescribed a way of belonging to what has been perceived as a performed nation (Khan 2013). They are intended to promote an imagined community of ‘Britishness’ with common values and a specific cultural mind-set or behaviour among a culturally diverse citizenry that is skewed in favour of the majority White population (Fortier 2010; Tyler 2010; Waite 2012). The ‘responsibilization’ agenda assumes that migrants will inculcate a feeling of belonging and integrate into an ‘imagined’ cultural and national polity by having knowledge of English while experiencing structural inequalities that perpetuate their exclusion and alienation (Fortier 2010; Tyler 2010; Waite 2012).

Integration is therefore contingent upon migrants' demonstration of a feeling of belonging to and identification with British cultural values (Anderson et al., 2011; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). In this case, the agenda prioritises integration, belonging and identity as a *sine qua non* for granting British citizenship (Khan 2013).

Given this research is about understanding asylum seekers/refugees' belonging and identity forming and perceptions of the importance of the media in these processes, the next section discusses the multicultural and transnational dimensions to belonging and identity forming. This is because these forms of citizenship involve cross-border state movements through which migrants bring with them multiple forms of belonging and identity to the UK, and therefore are of relevance to this study (Gordon and Stack 2007: 117). It should be noted that 'integration' is not the primary focus of this study, and therefore not treated as a core concept.

2.3 Belonging & Identity: 'multicultural' and 'transnational' dimensions

Multicultural citizenship is conceptualised as a strategy and policy intended to dismantle and remake public identities in order to achieve an equality of citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Modood 2005; Turner 2006; Sandercock 2003: 21). Like responsible 'active' citizenship, multicultural citizenship is concerned less with legal status. Multicultural citizenship is geared towards facilitating a 'sense of belonging' and identity with the UK among diverse individuals in the state and for promoting social cohesion and political participation (Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Safran 1997). It is therefore similar to responsible 'active' citizenship. However, it departs from notions of traditional and responsible 'active' citizenship in that it prioritises equality and recognition of cultural differences for membership in the state. In this way, it is a policy and a strategy to manage diversity in societies that have multiple cultural groups with multiple identities (Lister 2007: 51; Modood 2005: 5; Kofman 2005: 21).

Arguably, multicultural citizenship shares some commonality with transnational citizenship. The latter refers to migrants' socio-cultural, political and economic practices and identifications that are directed towards their homelands and other states (Bauman 2001: 152). The commonality between multicultural and transnational citizenship exists insofar as both are about individuals' 'self-determination' and claims making for recognition of the right to have different cultural and national identities other than those prescribed by the

nation-state (see Murphy and Harty 2003; Lister 2007). It has been argued that such recognition of cultural and national identities are crucial for the social inclusion and the integration rather than 'assimilation' of immigrants into the nation-state's 'imagined' national identity (Safran 1997: 314). Arguably therefore, as concepts, both forms of citizenship are concerned less about 'legal' status of membership co-option into the 'nation' and more about promoting multicultural rights and identities of migrant communities (Young 1989, cited in Kymlicka and Norman 1995: 370). However, while multicultural citizenship might have strong links with the territorial borders of the nation-state, transnational citizenship refers to migrants' socio-cultural, political and economic activities and identifications directed towards their homelands and other nation-states (Bauman 2001: 152). Transnational citizenship encapsulates notions of 'post-national', 'cosmopolitan' and 'global or world' citizenship predicated on international humanitarian laws that govern individual rights and responsibilities. The rights and responsibilities of individuals are based on shared humanity and their loyalty, identification is to multiple nation-states rather than restricted to the territorial borders of the host country, such as the UK (Levitt and Sorensen 2004; Murphy and Harty 2003: 183; Portes 1999). However, I have argued elsewhere that it is the host state that is the locus for upholding and delivering these rights and responsibilities in its attempt to exert sovereignty and seek legitimacy among the electorate (Khan forthcoming). In return for benefiting from 'Marshallian' rights, the state expects the individual to assimilate into its collective national and cultural identity (Dwyer 2008: 167). As a social contract, non-citizen migrants would accept obligations of core values of state membership or Britishness in return for residency. Paradoxically, this arrangement provides opportunities for migrants' internationalisation of cultural and national identities (Kofman 2007). In this sense, transnational citizenship as an analytical concept resists a notion of belonging, identity and political membership that is tied to a single 'bounded' political territory of the state (Bauback in IMISCOE 2008: 15).

In contrast to multicultural citizenship, notions of transnational citizenship prioritise the nation-state over the 'nation' and fail to explain belonging and identity formations in multinational states such as the UK. Notions of transnational citizenship fail to recognise that, like indigenous Scots, migrants may reside in a 'nation' with its own cultural, political and social systems that can influence their belonging, identity and participation. For example, as *Chapters 5 & 8* will explore, some asylum seeker/refugee migrants prioritise a Scottish

national belonging and identity over a British one. Transnational citizenship theorising that treats the 'nation' and the 'state' as synonymous is therefore simplistic. Nonetheless, it is in its potential for cross-border rights and responsibilities; multiple belongings and identities; that this form of citizenship is relevant to understanding asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to feelings of national belonging and national identity in the UK (see for instance *Chapters 4 & 8*). This issue relating to migrants' internationalisation of rights and its intersection with identity forming in host countries such as the UK will be explored in *Chapters 4, 5, 7 & 8*. My study is therefore important because it explores how asylum seekers/refugees, for example, are the product of forced migration and continue to engage in transnational political engagements, including homeland politics, more of which in *Chapter 8* (Vertovec 2004; Ostergaard-Nielson 2002; Morrell 2008).

2.4 Asylum, Belonging & Identity: the legislative-policy interface

Although Britain ratified The Geneva Convention on Refugees in 1954, it was only incorporated into domestic asylum legislation in the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act (Sales 2007: 145). Up until then, asylum seekers, although a very recent term, were processed under Aliens legislation. Since then asylum-seeking migration is the most highly legislated citizenship and social policy arena (Sales 2007). Sales attributed this as partly due to negative media coverage of asylum seekers/refugees as posing a threat to public safety; social welfare provision and Britishness, areas that will be explored in *Chapters 5 & 6*. This was compounded by the race riots in the North of England in 2001 and Islamic terrorism (Cheong *et al.* 2007; Sim and Bowes 2007; Byrne 2007; Fortier 2010). Media and political discourse portrayed the asylum crisis as partly to blame for the failure of British multiculturalism and for posing a threat to an 'imagined' Britishness and national security (Young 2003; Yuval-Davies *et al.* 2005; Turner 2006: 615; Gillespie 2007). The policy of multiculturalism, therefore, in the words of Trevor Phillips, Chair of the then Commission for Race Equality (CRE), has undermined British values. (Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28). Concomitantly, a consensus was built around scaling down multiculturalism or even for its abandonment towards assimilation into British cultural and national identity (Fortier 2010; Nagel and Staehelli 2008; Gillespie 2007: 276). The assumption is that promoting a homogenous British national identity and cultural values would enable social cohesion (Fortier 2010; Byrne 2007)

The Cattle Report on Community Cohesion (2001), a public order and community cohesion ministerial group report (2001) and later followed by the UK Home Office consultation document *Strength in Diversity* focussed on promoting social cohesion and integration of people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds around shared values (Cheong *et al.* 2007). These policy documents spell out social cohesion as the new panacea to the societal ills caused by multiculturalism and its associated asylum crisis (Fortier 2010: 20; Nagel and Staehelli 2008; Gillespie 2007). The policies aim to promote an imagined community of 'Britishness' with common values among a culturally diverse citizenry (Woodward 2006). Commentators considered the social cohesion enterprise as strengthening the link between belonging, national identity, social inclusion and integration of asylum seekers/refugees and other migrant residents (Fortier 2010; Nagel and Staehelli 2008; Back *et al.* 2002). In this sense, as Fortier (2010) argued, the cohesion policies become a strategy for the governance of multiculturalism, particularly in promoting among ethnic minorities a specific cultural mind-set and behaviour that is skewed in favour of the majority White population.

Cheong *et al.* (2007) argue that in addition to a sense of belonging and identification with 'common values', social cohesion promotes social norms of solidarity and generosity among community members especially for people of diverse backgrounds (Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28). Social cohesion policies therefore are dependent on social capital 'bridging' among immigrants (Cheong *et al.* 2007; Phillips and Berman 2003; Putnam 2002; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Social capital 'bridging' is widely considered as crucial for individuals' ability to 'bridge' between people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as well as to 'bond' at the intra-ethnic levels (Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28; Fortier 2010: 20). Fortier argued that policymakers prioritise 'bridging' over 'bonding' because it would yield more favourable attitudes and feelings among immigrants towards the White majority's preference of British cultural values and sense of community at the expense of connecting to transnational identities (2010: 26). These policies also enable 'linking' social capital, which refers to direct state intervention to facilitate the integration and inclusion of immigrants like asylum seekers/refugees and their feeling of belonging to the UK (Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Cheong *et al.* 2007: 29). These models of social capital are normative and functionalist and aimed at facilitating social cohesion that is perceived to be under threat from immigration and ethnic diversity (Phillips and Berman 2003; Gillespie 2007; Byrne 2007; Fortier 2010).

Other policies followed under the rubrics such as: *Fairer, Firmer and Faster*; *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*; and *Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration Work For Britain* (Home Office 2005). These policies represented government posturing to curb so-called ‘illegal’ asylum-seeking migration (Home Office 2005). It is worth pointing out that there is no such thing as an ‘illegal’ asylum seeker under British and international humanitarian law as contained in media and political discourses, evidenced in *Chapter 6*. The *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, White Paper that informed The 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act contained proposals for limiting citizenship rights (Home Office 2001a). The Act removed asylum seekers’ concession to a right to work after six months, subjected some to detention, and refused support for those who ‘do not make a claim as soon as applicable’, except for families with children (Sales 2007).

The 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act put in place the ‘citizenship, classes, tests and oaths’ policy. This policy would require aspiring British citizens to participate in citizenship and language classes; citizenship and language test; and the taking of a citizenship oath at a citizenship ceremony. The citizenship and language component makes it compulsory for everyone seeking British citizenship to complete successfully a test on knowledge of British life and values of classes. The language tests involve reaching English as a Second Language (ESOL) Level 3 in English (Kofman 2005). These include understanding, speaking, writing and reading (Sales 2007). The policy is an example of government intervention to promote ‘linking’ social capital and identity or nation building of an ‘imagined’ Britishness among immigrant populations (Cheong *et al.* 2007: 30). This is because the government argued that knowledge of English and British cultural values would equip migrants with the linguistic and cultural capital to participate in all spheres of life in their community and the polity (Byrne 2007; Home Office 2001a).

Other policies and Acts followed, namely, The Asylum and Immigration Act 2004 and *Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration work for Britain*, White Paper and its adjoining The Asylum and Immigration Act 2006 (Home Office 2005b). These policies provided for criminal prosecutions of asylum seekers arriving without valid documents or good explanation; and failing to cooperate with re-documentation (Cheong *et al.* 2007); the tagging and detention of unsuccessful asylum claimants; and the exclusion from benefits to those refused asylum claimants with children. Unsuccessful claimants were refused access to

primary and hospital health care² (Sales 2007). Those arriving through a ‘third country’³ could also be deported to that country or minimise their chances of a successful claim. The Asylum and Immigration Act 2006 also limited access to legal aid and High Courts for appeals against deportation. The ‘exceptional leave to remain’ was replaced by a narrower category of “humanitarian protection”, which is subject to review after five years. It strengthened controls on immigrants via integrated pre-entry and in-country security – ‘E-borders’ and Border Management Programmes (Cheong *et al.* 2007). The Act set up the New Asylum Model (NAM), which aimed to fast track asylum procedures and set targets for removals. The Immigration and Nationality Act 2006 introduced ‘a good character’ test for citizenship that required potential applicants for citizenship to have no criminal record or record of anti-social behaviour. The language and citizenship test was extended to individuals applying for Indefinite Leave to Remain in 2007 (Sales 2007).

The ‘good character’ requirement was further strengthened in– The Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009. The Act entrenched into law ‘probationary citizenship’ that would take into account would be citizens’ voluntary work or contribution to society to qualify for British citizenship. The Act created a new ‘pathways into citizenship’ and also strengthened responsible ‘active’ citizenship as a way for migrants to integrate into Britishness, failing which could deny them British citizenship (McGhee 2009: 45). More importantly, this policy formalised the link between volunteering, sense of belonging and integration into mainstream identity (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 10), more of which in *Chapter 7*.

What conclusions can we draw from the above legislative framework about the linkage between asylum, British citizenship and identity? Firstly, political elites use policies to prescribe obligations and ways of national belonging and national identity by forcing prospective citizens to learn the language, cultures and values of an ‘imagined community’ before being bestowed citizenship (Kofman 2005: Fortier 2010). British citizenship is, in this sense, more than a legal status and rights, but also based on a sense of belonging to the

2 Although government proposals extended free access to education to all residents in the UK that are of school-going age.

3 The ‘safe third country’ rule: Considered as the first intergovernmental agreements, the 1990 Schengen Implementation Agreement and Dublin Convention, allow for member states to refuse an examination of an asylum claim and repatriate the applicant to a third country where they would have had the possibility to apply for asylum, provided that the state is party to basis international refugee treaty (Lavenex 2006: 334).

‘nation’ (Sales 2007: 176). ‘Citizenship classes, tests & oath’ policy shows that exclusion on ethnic and religious basis is the locus for British national identity and the rights enjoyed by British residents (Sales 2007: 177). Participating in citizenship and English language classes and tests, and citizenship oaths becomes a homogenising instrument that is aimed at orientating would-be citizens into British cultural and linguistic norms and values (Cheong *et al.* 2007; Clarke 2005; Dwyer 2008). Belonging is therefore not only contingent upon length of residency by migrants, but requires the demonstration of loyalty or allegiance to British cultural values (Anderson *et al.* 2011:557; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 8).

Secondly, the policies (citizenship classes, cohesion and ‘probationary citizenship’) are complicit in the negative ‘othering’ of minorities. For example, a proponent of the ‘citizenship classes’ policy, Bernard Crick, justified compulsory English classes as helping isolated women who are prevented by patriarchal cultures from social interaction (Bernard Crick, *The Guardian*, 12 April 2004 in Kofman 2005: 461). Another proponent, the then Immigration Minister Phil Woolas, remarked that engaging in anything perceived to be offensive to British values could lead to being denied citizenship (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 8).

Thirdly, government policies are broadly aimed at managing public anxiety that is instigated by much of the UK media depiction of asylum seekers/refugees as a threat to British cultural and national identity. Interviewees held similar perceptions that are explored in *Chapter 5*. The policies therefore serve ‘symbolic’, ‘deterrent’, ‘pacifist’ and ‘securitisation’ functions. They are ‘symbolic’ because they present an image of secure borders and a collective British identity. They are a deterrent because policies including dispersal, detention and deportation are aimed at protecting the state from easy access by asylum seekers (Kofman 2005; Bloch and Schuster 2005; Statham and Geddes 2006). Kofman (2005) argued that policies perform a ‘deterrence’ role by granting rights differentially among types of asylum seekers/refugees with a view to dissuade them from staying and becoming British citizens. Policies are a tool of ‘securitisation’ for prescribing the use of anti-terrorism security technology to police entry into the nation-state borders and the movements of asylum seekers as mentioned above (Favell and Geddes 2000). As Blunkett announced in launching *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* a “robust nationality and asylum system is the pre-requisite to building the security and trust that is needed” (*Home Office* 2001a). The policies are ‘pacifist’ because they are based on an

assumption that increased migration can only be tolerated if the public/citizens see that the government is controlling it, it is economically beneficial and that migrants have a sense of belonging and identity with the UK (*Home Office* 2002).

Fourthly, UK citizenship policy is often subsumed under immigration and other government policies such as social cohesion, integration and social welfare (Turner 2006; Safran 1997). When social welfare policy is a surrogate for citizenship, it is to restrict non-citizens' access to social welfare and cause an 'inclusion-exclusion' nexus (Sales 2007; Heller 2008). Where social cohesion policy plays this role, it is to 'assimilate' into a national cultural imaginary. In this case, it is a 'neo-assimilationist' rather than an 'integrationist' approach to identification with Britishness (Khan 2012a, 2013). Where citizenship is subsumed under immigration policies, it asserts national or state sovereignty and police entry into the state.

These policies have been criticised for promoting 'Britishness' or a singular British national identity and therefore a reversal of multiculturalism and racial justice (Back *et al.* 2002; Cheong *et al.*, 2007: 34). Others argued that it is a resurgence of asserting a hegemonic British value that is blind to the complexities of belonging and identity that are space and time dependent (Yuval-Davis *et al.* 2005; Cheong *et al.* 2007: 40). In this regard, the policies mark boundaries of national belonging and national identity. Critiques said this contributes to the 'othering' of diverse cultural groups in the UK and ascribing inferior status to their cultural and ethnic identities (Fortier 2010; Byrne 2007; Kofman 2005). Political sociologists described this kind of intervention by political elites as multicultural governance (see for instance Byrne 2007; Gillespie 2007; Fortier 2010; Lentin and Titley 2011; Khan 2012a). As a construct, multicultural governance, in my reading, serves four main purposes. Firstly, the intervention, usually policies, is aimed at controlling the behaviour; social interactions and values of minority populations in line with those prescribed by policymakers. Secondly, the prescribed behaviour, interactions and values are predominantly those of the mainstream or the majority White population. Thirdly, the intervention prioritises agency over structural inequalities that afflict ethnic minorities by which the onus is on aspiring citizens to exercise 'autonomous' agency to integrate and participate in the life and activities of its majority White neighbourhood and polity (see Back *et al.* 2002; Nagel and Staehelli 2008). Fourthly, arguably and inherent in the above three elements, multicultural governance is an 'assimilationist' or what others referred to as 'neo-assimilationist' rather than a

‘multiculturalist’ approach to imagining the nation and integration and therefore a retreat from multiculturalism (Joppke 1997: 23; Kofman 2005; Lister *et al.* 2007; Modood 2008; McGhee 2009; Tyler 2010; Waite 2012).

Multicultural governance is therefore criticised for reflecting political elites’ historically held negative stereotypes of ethnic minority migrants, particularly Muslims as the source of community tension and who should integrate (Byrne 2007; McGhee 2009; Tyler 2010; Waite 2012). In addition, the structural inequalities engendered through ‘restrictive’ policies that exclude non-citizen ethnic minority migrants such as asylum seekers/refugees from service provision and caused their continued marginalisation and disempowerment remained unaddressed by political elites (Fortier 2010; Lentin and Titley 2011; Khan 2012a). Integration (especially into the nation) is therefore framed along an anti-multiculturalism agenda, where cultural or ethnic diversity is perceived as a source of conflict and therefore the target for ‘migration securitisation’ (Waite 2012; Fortier 2010: 24).

This kind of treatment of UK non-citizens by policymakers has also been evident in much of the media’s reporting of asylum seekers/refugees between 1990 and mid-2000. Kaye (2001; 1998) observed that there is a correlation between hostile media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees and anti-asylum policymaking. The next two sections review the research relating to this kind of hostile treatment that could potentially contribute to asylum seekers/refugees’ construction of the ‘self’ and notions of belonging and identity (Pietikanen and Dufva 2006: 205). The review will also shed light on how much of the hostile coverage suggests that media elites are complicit in delineating the terms and boundaries of belonging to the UK state and the British ‘nation’.

2.5 Asylum reporting from 1990 to mid-2000

Kaye (1998, 2001)⁴ conducted one of the first systematic analyses in the 1990’s of the UK press treatment of asylum. He looked at seven newspapers including broadsheet and tabloid. They are the right wing press (normally allied to the Conservatives) of *the Times*, *the*

4 Although other studies were conducted in the 1990’s, they are not as expansive as Kaye’s. For example, Coleman (1996 cited in Kaye 2001) only surveyed the British press from September to December 1995, Clarke (2000) was based on two-week period from mid to late October 1997, Tomasi (1992 cited in Kaye 2001) was less specific on the UK context, and McGloughlin (1999 cited in Clark 2000) was more focussed on race and ethnicity.

Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Sun and the liberal press (or what others referred to as the left) of *the Guardian, the Independent and the Daily Mirror* (Kaye 1998; 2001). The latter three are normally seen as sympathetic to Labour (Kaye 1998; 2001). He found that there was frequent use by all these newspapers of the terms or 'labels': 'bogus', 'phoney' and 'economic', in relation to asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, in the reporting of the asylum issue between 1990 and 1996. However, there were some variations in the contextual usage of these terms that pointed to a political-ideological leaning to the reporting. For instance, although the highest frequency of these terms was in the *Independent* (116 selections) and the *Guardian* (96 selections), this was mainly because of these newspapers' criticism of others including politicians for the use of the terms. In contrast, the relatively lesser occurrence in the *Daily Mail* (80 selections), the *Times* (70) and the *Telegraph* (28) was because they used these terms on their own volition and hardly criticise their use by others. In addition, the *Guardian* and the *Independent* were critical of the government's anti-asylum policies while the *Daily Mail*, the *Times* and the *Telegraph* hardly were. The *Daily Mail* was the worst culprit because these labels were not only used 90 per cent of the time, but also occurred more often in its editorials than in any other newspaper. Although Kaye's analysis was focussed on the depiction of asylum seekers/refugees as 'bogus', 'phoney' and 'economic migrant', he observed that the *Sun* deployed other 'stronger' and more 'insulting' language against asylum seekers/refugees (2001: 59). The *Mirror* accounted for only one entry, which Kaye attributed to the low priority that the newspaper accorded to asylum.

Another analysis by Kaye of the same newspapers' coverage of the so-called Roma 'invasion' in two weeks in October 1997 revealed similar political-ideological reporting (Kaye 2001; also Clark and Campbell 2000). He found that except for the *Guardian*, all newspapers including the *Mirror* had similar themes: the economic and social welfare motivation for seeking asylum, 'illegitimate' asylum and the huge cost of welfare provision for asylum seekers/refugees (Kaye 2001: 61). The tabloid press, particularly the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun*, were more blatant in their biased reporting than the broadsheets. The latter tended to be more careful in their use of language irrespective of political orientations (Kaye 2001: 61). Other studies by Clark (1998), and Clark and Campbell (2000) found that the coverage of the same event (the Roma 'invasion') over a two-week period (mid to late October 1997), in the *Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Observer*, the *Mail*, the *Sun*, the *Mirror*, and the *Express* was 'vitriolic, distorted and exaggerated' (Clark and Campbell 2001: 30).

Kaye (2001), Clark (1998), and Clark and Campbell (2000) found certain discursive strategies to be commonplace in the asylum stories, affirming other studies of the decade (see McGloughlin 1999; Law 1997 cited in Clarke 2000; Coleman 1996 and Tomasi 1992 cited in Kaye 2001). These include labels such as ‘invasion’, ‘deluge’, ‘hand-outs’, ‘bogus’, ‘economic migrant’, ‘exodus’, ‘flood’, ‘gold diggers’, welfare ‘fraud’, ‘scam’ and ‘spongers’ (Clark and Campbell 2000: 30; Kaye 2001: 61). Journalists in the right wing press also called for Roma asylum seekers to be deported or ‘kicked out’ of Britain (Clark and Campbell 2000: 33). There was also use of spurious statistics. For example, Kaye observed that although the true number was about 170 of Roma people seeking asylum in October 1997, the *Guardian* and the *Independent* reported this to be under 200, the *Times* and the *Telegraph* put it at 800, the *Sun* quoted 3000, while the *Daily Mail* used various numbers ranging from 600 to 3000 (Kaye 2001: 63). The *Telegraph* and the *Sun* respectively projected that 3,000 and a million others are on their way to the UK. Clark and Campbell (2000) claimed that Home Office figures indicated that the Roma asylum applications for a one-year period (from 1 February 1997 to 31 January 1998) was 400, a number that was below that reported in the right wing newspapers.

Kaye (2001: 64) and Clark and Campbell (2000: 41) concluded that the vitriolic language directed at asylum seekers displayed overt and covert racism and xenophobia by journalists, prompting concern to be raised by refugee-supporting agencies (also Statham 1999; Coleman 1996 cited in Kaye 2001). Unlike Kaye (1998, 2001), others (Clark and Campbell 2000; Statham 1999; Koser and Lutz 1998, Philo and Beatie 1999) recognised that such racism/xenophobia was realised through the discursive strategy of the ‘us and them’ binary. This binary was not only used to differentiate the ‘deserving/undeserving’ among the Roma asylum seekers, but also between the group of Roma as ‘scroungers’ and ‘gold diggers’, from the magnanimous British citizens. Other studies found this binary to be extended to the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ (Philo and Beatie 1999; Tomasi 1992 cited in Kaye 2001). The right wing press also deployed the ‘us’ and ‘them’ discursive trope to blame the EU for the government’s inability to control the ‘invasion’. For example, Clark and Campbell noted that the *Sun* and the *Times* implied that the EU asylum-friendly policies were to blame for the ‘invasion’ and that these policies were the consequence of a supernatural ‘Gypsy curse’ (2000: 37). In this way, the binary was key to media elites’ ascribing an inferior cultural

identity to the Roma people in contrast to the British ‘other’ with a superior welfare system and cultural values that were under threat by the ‘invasion’ (Clark and Campbell 2000: 33).

Kaye also looked at how the press coverage of asylum, between early June 1998 and end of July 1998, was influenced by the publication of two documents relating to asylum-seeking migration – the Immigration Services Union (ISU) report and the government White Paper on Immigration and Asylum. As with the coverage of the Roma/gypsies, the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun*, the *Telegraph* and the *Times* quoted statistics from these documents to question the ‘genuineness’ of the asylum claims and to report that these were increasing. Overall, these right wing newspapers ‘positively’ received the White Paper, but only because this policy was aimed at clearing the backlog of asylum claims and widely perceived as being ‘tough’. Nonetheless, these newspapers and others strongly criticised parts of the policy as a ‘soft-touch’ and an ‘amnesty’ for rewarding ‘bogus’ asylum seekers, prompting the government to accuse the right wing press of ‘scaremongering’. In contrast, the *Independent*, quoted refugee-supporting agencies criticising the policy as unjust and inhumane, and remarking on the positive benefits of immigration, which is another reminder of the ideological sub-text to the reporting (Kaye 2001).

Just as in the 1990s, research conducted between 2000 and 2005 found similar themes as well as racist and xenophobic comments, and the inaccurate and provocative use of language (Buchanan and Grillo 2003: 19; Statham 2002). For instance, three Home Office commissioned research projects undertaken by ICAR in 2003/04 in two London boroughs found that asylum seekers/refugees and local residents perceived the media coverage of the asylum issue to be “provocative, inflammatory and unconstructive” (ICAR 2004).’ The anti-poverty organisation, Oxfam-UK’s 2001/02 research also found that some Scottish press reporting of the asylum issue was negative even though less hostile than the ‘English’ press (Mollard 2001; Wilson 2004). It should be noted that ‘Scottish press’ is conceptualised in the Oxfam studies to incorporate what I describe as ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’. As already discussed, the homogenisation of the press according to national ‘flags’ tells us little about variations, if any, in the coverage by different UK newspapers. My work will attempt to address this conceptual problem in understanding differences in UK newspapers’ coverage of asylum. A subsequent study by Smart et al. (2007), in 2005/06 systematically monitored UK newspaper reporting of asylum seekers/refugees since the introduction of Press Complaints

Commission, (PCC) Guidance Notes on Reporting Refugees and Asylum Seekers. It found that while generally there was a reduction in hostile coverage of asylum, some coverage contained hostile and potentially inflammatory language and inaccuracies (Smart *et al.* 2007). These studies concluded that asylum seekers are depicted as increasing or uncontrollable, illegitimate, motivated by economic benefits, a drain on taxpayers and as scapegoats for the failings in housing and welfare provision. Asylum seekers were also imbued with criminality and inferior social and cultural identities, and that journalists blamed UK membership of the EU for the government's inability to control the 'influx' (Statham 2001; Hewitt 2001; Buchannan and Grillo 2003; Barclay *et al.* 2003; ICAR 2004; Smart *et al.* 2007). There was political-ideological motivation for the reporting with the right wing tabloids of the *Sun*, the *Mail*, the *Express* and the Broadsheets the *Telegraph* and the *Times* as the worst culprits (Statham 2001; Hewitt 2001; Buchannan and Grillo 2003; Barclay *et al.* 2003; ICAR 2004; Smart *et al.* 2007). The political-ideological reporting was realised through the discursive techniques that are similar to the 1990s including; the 'us and them' binary, demeaning labels, exaggerated statistics, conflating asylum with economic migration and the selective use of sources. However, in contrast to the 1990s, most of the studies in the 2000s found that for the first time asylum is conflated with Islamic terrorism (Buchannan and Grillo 2003; ICAR 2004; Smart *et al.* 2007); and that this exacerbated the public hostility and stigma that asylum seekers/refugees face (Home Office 2001c; Statham 2001; ACPO 2001 in ICAR 2004: 90). The hostility and stigma, in turn, was found to compound asylum seekers/refugees' exclusion from the life of their neighbourhoods and service provision, ability to integrate and good community relations (Home Office 2001c; Stratham 2001; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Hewitt 2002; Buchannan and Grillo 2003: 19; ICAR 2004). Sim and Bowes also found that media coverage is perceived by community actors and asylum seekers to hinder the latter's successful resettlement in Glasgow and good community relations in the early 2000 (2007: 739; Bowes *et al.* 2009). However, they found that paradoxically the media hostility had brought both locals and asylum seekers together. The continuities and divergences in news media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees between the 1990/mid 2000 and this study will be explored in *Chapter 6*.

What conclusions can we draw from the above analyses of the treatment of asylum seekers/refugees by the UK press between 1990 and mid- 2000? Firstly, much of the press abused the term 'asylum seeker', portrayed asylum-seeking migration as 'illegitimate' and

motivated by welfare and economic considerations, and criticised government failure to control the asylum influx. These constructions were realised through the selective and exaggerated use of statistics and sources or ‘numbers game’; and demeaning and racist language. These studies concluded that the media hysteria amounted to ‘moral panic’ (Kaye 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000: 28; Buchannan and Grillo 2003; ICAR 2004; Smart *et al.* 2007). In addition, in the majority of the coverage, media elites reflected their traditional belief about migration, suggesting a political and ideological stance to the reporting. The right-liberal (or left) dichotomy is in this regard not a permanent one, but a reflection of the framing of asylum as a politically vexed issue (Kaye 2001). As some of the studies noted, this would explain why the right wing press that is traditionally opposed to the EU framed the asylum ‘shambles’ and impotence of the government to correct it to be caused by the UK joining the EU (Clark and Campbell 2000; Buchannan and Grillo 2003; Smart *et al.* 2007). Overall, the tabloid press is the worst culprit.

Secondly, before 1990, asylum was less visible as a politically vexed issue in the UK (Kaye 2001: 67). It might be that the steep increase from about 5,000 in 1988 to about 22,000 in 1993, which then almost quadrupled to 84,130 in 2002 (Kaye 2001: 53; Smart *et al.* 2007: 24) caused the asylum issue to be visible in media and political debates, which generated anti-asylum policymaking (Kaye 2001: 53). For instance, the hostile depictions peaked in the early months of 1991 corresponding to government debates and the introduction of an asylum Bill to limit the asylum ‘flood’, a pattern that was again evident in the re-introduction of this Bill in October-December 1992 (Kaye 1998: 176). This suggests a corresponding relationship between negative media treatment and asylum policymaking (Kaye 2001). The negative depictions increased again in line with the increase in applications to 44,000 in 1995, leading to a government warning to bring in policies to stem the ‘influx’ (Kaye 1998: 176). This pattern was also replicated in 1997 because of the Roma ‘invasion’ and in 1998 after the publication of the ISU report and government White Paper to curb the asylum ‘invasion’ (Kaye 2001). However, Kaye observed that by 1998 there was less overt racism and xenophobia in the coverage of the report and policy in comparison to the coverage of the Roma in 1997. He attributed this less inflammatory tone in the right wing press to a cautious reflection by media elites of the wide condemnation they incurred for their overtly racist coverage of the Roma ‘invasion’ (Kaye 2001: 67). In addition, by the end of the decade, most

of the newspapers (of all types) reported on the positive sides of immigration, a pattern that was reversed when numbers peaked in 2002.

Thirdly, during the 1990s, media and political discourses conflated asylum with economic migration and attributed ‘inferior’ cultural and social identities to asylum seekers. In this sense, asylum seekers were depicted as a threat not only to the welfare system, but also to an ‘imagined’ Britishness or British cultural values of tolerance, magnanimity and honesty (Kaye 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000: 42; see also Pickering 2001). This depiction was glaring in the coverage of a perceived increase in the arrival of specific cultural groups, namely Roma and Muslim asylum seekers in the 1990’s and 2000 respectively. It might be that this is due to long-held historical and cultural prejudices against these groups in Europe, whose cultural practices are perceived by parts of British society to be a threat to British Christian values (see Kaye 2001: 55; Clark and Campbell 2000). It also suggests that most journalists are inclined to use asylum seekers as scapegoats for emerging social and political problems in the UK. This exacerbated the hostile coverage and the visibility of asylum as a politically vexed issue. The studies in mid-2000, for example, found that much of the media conflated asylum-seeking migration with Islamic terrorism. The coverage went as far as to depict asylum seekers/refugees as posing a threat to national security, British national identity and social cohesion and as partly to blame for the failure of UK ‘multiculturalism’ policy (Young 2003; Yuval-Davies *et al.* 2005; Turner 2006: 615; Gillespie 2007). The resulting public anxiety is widely believed to generate political intervention through policies that are intended to curb the ‘influx’ and promote British cultural and national identity as discussed earlier (Stewart and Mulvey 2010). This would suggest a correspondence between negative media treatment and policymaking activity (Kaye 2001: 67) and would explain why asylum-seeking migration is one of the most legislated area in between the 1990s and 2000s.

Fourthly, the coverage is found to exclude asylum seekers’ ‘voices’ and fails to provide a context to the asylum stories and asylum-seeking migration. Media reporting of asylum in the past decades therefore raises serious questions about the role of the press in asylum seekers/refugees’ fragility of identification with Britishness (Lister *et al.* 2007; Sales 2007; Dwyer 2008; Barclay *et al.* 2003). It also raises question about scholarly opinion of media complicity in boundary marking Britishness.

Finally, many of these studies homogenised the UK press as either British or national and conflate the Scottish press with ‘Scottish editions of London’ titles, which tells us little about the nuances in the coverage that exists within these categories. It has therefore been difficult to contextualise claims that the Scottish press is less hostile, an issue that this study will address. The next section reviews the literature on the plausibility of these hypotheses of the intersection of hostile media coverage and asylum seekers/refugees’ belonging and identity forming.

2.6 Identity Construction: how is citizenship formed through the media?

The above review of media depictions of asylum seekers/refugees suggests that the news media is a key vehicle of ‘othering’ and identity ascription (Zargar 2004). ‘Othering’ is used here to refer to a process and end product of identification of the ‘self’ as being different from an external ‘other’ (Finney 2005: 28). In the context of media reporting of asylum, the scholarly opinion is that much of the UK media construct asylum seekers/refugees as a ‘threat’ to the dominant British national identity or ‘Britishness’ (Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Clark and Campbell 2000; Kofman 2005). Britishness is constructed as the superior cultural ‘other’ with values of tolerance, magnanimity and charity (Clark and Campbell 2000). In contrast, asylum seekers/refugees are depicted with ‘liminal’ social and ‘inferior’ cultural identities (Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Clark and Campbell 2000; Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad 2008). The ‘othering’ is realised through tropes including the ‘us’ and ‘them’ binary that delineate racial, national and cultural identities in the coverage and to which asylum seekers/refugees are likely to be orientated (Allan 2005). In addition, the news media do so not only by transmission of new asylum stories, but also by evoking constantly and reiteratively previous representations and stereotypes (see *Chapter 6*, also Kirmayer 2003: 171; Kaye 2001). My work gains significance because it explores asylum seekers/refugees’ opinions and interpretations of these media constructions that have been missing in these theoretical accounts. It also provides interviewees’ preferred forms of representation that constitute contestations of media constructions of refugee identities. Interviewees’ meanings, understandings and self-constructions will be used to suggest that the *a priori* assumption that victims of media coverage are incapable of interpreting the underlying hostile depictions is misplaced. Most of the previous analyses homogenised the UK press as British or Scottish and tell us little about how the coverage differs among Scottish and London newspapers. My work not only explores in more detail the distinctions between these newspapers, but also

explores interviewees' interpretations of this difference in coverage. More importantly, the media monitoring reveals that much of the media construct British national and cultural identities through their reporting of the asylum issue.

Erjavec (2003) has also argued that in the context of asylum, and, as explored in the studies of the 1990s and *Chapters 5 & 6*, the 'othering' points to a media racist agenda: the asylum seeker-refugee 'folk devils' are personified as the 'evil' and demonised 'other' (Hall 1978). It has been argued that this is designed to reconstruct British national identity (Statham 2002: 409). This is because, as will be assessed in *Chapter 6*, it is in media spaces that debates about multiculturalism and citizenship and their attendant social processes of national belonging and British identity, social integration and social cohesion are sustained (Sandercock 2003). As *Chapters 6 & 8* will examine, media's racism is subtle, insofar as it continues to escape litigation in breach of UK anti-racist laws⁵ and, therefore, is consistent with 'dog whistle' politics.

'Dog whistle' politics or journalism⁶ (henceforth referred to as DWP) refers to a form of covert evaluation or code by which political communication (both politicians and journalists) deploys seemingly neutral representations and meanings, but where in fact a racist message is likely to be heard by the target community (Manning 2004; Coffin and O'Halloran 2006; Every and Augoustinos 2007: 431). As Clark and Campbell observed in the coverage of the Roma, the target community are the 'imagined' British citizens rather than the 'other' (alien) that has been constructed in inferior cultural imaginaries (2000: 31). DWP is associated with the shrewdness of right wing politicians and political journalists in communicating messages around immigration in a manner in which racism is embedded like a dog whistle (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006). Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) observed that the phrase originated as a response to political correctness or to the success of liberal social discourse in generating an awareness of the use of pejorative language in describing minority communities. As racist

5 Such laws include the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006, the Broadcasting Act 1990, the Public Order Act 1986.

6 It should be noted that the same epistemology on 'dog whistle' in political communication apply to 'dog whistle' journalism, and both terms are therefore synonymous. 'Dog whistle' journalism is favoured by Ward (2002). However, 'dog whistle' politics is preferred for this discussion because of its universal appeal to political communication theorising, and in my view to accord prominence to its political dimension.

talk, 'dog whistle' is pitched in such a way, mostly subtle, that it is unidentifiable as racism to most members of an audience (Every and Augoustinos 2007: 431). Political and media elites employ this strategy to escape accusations of racism and bigotry against marginalised members of society, particularly ethnic minorities and migrants (Soanes 2005). At the same time, the intended audience would understand the message, without the message offending those with liberal values. Fear (2007: 2) argued that individuals who are not the intended recipient of 'dog whistle' messages, would take them at face value and not perceive the embedded racism, a view that will be critiqued in *Chapter 8*.

However, the concept of 'dog whistling' is not only applicable to immigration and asylum, and may not only have racist motives or undertones. It has been associated with right wing policies and views against other social minorities in relation to discussing, covertly, wider social issues and policies including homosexuality, abortion and religion (Fear 2007). Neither is it only the prerogative of right-wing politics. It has been observed to be extensively used by politicians of all political leanings (right and left wing). For example, when New Labour, a party traditionally aligned to the left, used slogans such as '*British homes for British workers*' and '*British jobs for British workers*'. Commentators described the slogans as 'dog whistle' politics that are targeted at an anti-EU and anti-immigration electorate (Parkard June, *Financial Times*, 29, 2009). It will be argued in *Chapter 8* that this elitist paradigm in interpreting 'dog whistle' politics is in need of revision to accommodate the perspectives of its victims.

The recurring racist and 'inferior' identity depictions through 'othering' of asylum seekers/refugees and evident in the 1990/mid-2000, might be responsible for creating 'moral panic', 'folk devils' and community tensions (Kirmayer 2003; Rothe and Muzzatti 2004; Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad 2008). Cohen (1987) has observed that a 'moral panic' could occur when "a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values or interests" (Cohen 1987: 9). 'Moral panic' is both a process and an end product by which the crisis is alleged to compel urgent and often drastic action. The agents of such 'moral panic' are not only the media but also other institutions in the nation-state, such as rule enforcers, politicians, action groups and the public (Bar-Tal *et al.* 1991; Rothe and Muzzatti 2004, Ejarvec 2003). The 'moral panic' culminates in creating 'folk devils' or 'bad citizens' (Rothe and Muzzatti 2004: 329; Khan 2008). 'Folk devils' or 'bad

citizens' are the individuals that are stereotyped and held responsible for the criminal behaviour, in this case asylum seekers/refugees (Rothe and Muzzatti 2004: 329; Khan 2008). Cohen (2002) noted that 'moral panic' is different from other sociological phenomena in two respects: firstly, that in general the 'moral panic' narrative is a single virtually consistent message of hostility; and secondly, that the reactions are more overtly political than any others that have legitimised the public hostility (Cohen 2002).

Ferguson and Walters (2005: 12) have observed that the public anxiety generates political legitimisation for the anti-asylum and citizenship policies as explained above. As studies in 1990/2000 suggested, the high visibility of asylum in media and political spaces is partly blamed for the moral panic that paved the way for the Labour government's 'assimilationist' and 'restrictive' asylum and citizenship policies. These policies include the introduction of the controversial dispersal asylum policy in 1999, and the cohesion and citizenship classes discussed above. The policies are crucial in regulating would be British citizens' membership or sense of belonging to an 'imagined' Britishness. Kaye (2001) suggested that this relationship between hostile coverage, events and political debates suggests that political elites led the way in news agenda setting, with the media merely reflecting it and participating in its news framing. Agenda setting is used here to refer to the ability of institutions, like the media, to define "who and what is important and unimportant, who and what should or should not be given importance" (Finney 2005: 48). Nonetheless, through framing, media elites might provide urgency for policy development and action (Kaye 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000: 42). The press might have therefore been instrumental in building consensus around promoting assimilation into Britishness and the scaling down of multiculturalism or even for its abandonment (see Fortier 2010; Nagel and Staehelli 2008; Gillespie 2007: 276).

From the foregoing discussion, one could understand why scholarly consensus has formed around the hypothesis that news media is a citizenship forming instrument (Billig 1995; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Nolan 2006; Wahl-Jorgensen 2006; Gillespie 2007; Hoxsey 2011; Anderson *et al.* 2011). Firstly, the news media offer spaces for the social construction of members of the political community in relation to: who belongs or does not belong, what identities (national, cultural and political) constitute being a British citizen (Britishness), and what the rights and responsibilities of membership are (Nolan 2006: 242). The media in this sense is an influential institution for 'banal nationalism', meaning the formation, reproduction

and advocacy of national identities, and who should be included or excluded from these constructed or ‘imagined’ identities (Gillespie 2007; Byrne 2007: 510; Billig 1995; Anderson 1991). Secondly, the news media is pivotal to the way the debate about citizenship or residency, race, equality and exclusion intersect with formations of public hostility against ethnic and racial minorities. It is in parts of the UK media, as evidenced in the 1990s/mid-2000s asylum stories (and later in this study) that media elites call for the deportation or state protection of asylum seekers. In addition, news media asylum reporting contributes to the structural inequalities, sense of alienation and racism that hinders asylum seekers/refugees’ participation and identification with the mainstream and Britishness (Khan 2013). By so doing, news media prescribes the conditionality of inclusion/exclusion and the formal boundaries of membership or belonging, which could influence would be citizens’ orientations to British national belonging and identity (Hoxsey 2011: 928; Anderson *et al.* 2011; Gillespie 2007; Byrne 2007; Nolan 2006; Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 928; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Billig 1995; Anderson 1991). It has therefore been argued that even when migrants are granted citizenship or passports they may experience inequality, exclusion and racism by the Majority White citizens and institutions (Kofman 2005; Powell 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 18). This would make them second class citizens, which has led to calls by theorists and policymakers for fair and equal treatment in service delivery and news media coverage.

In addition to the press coverage, I have explored elsewhere this study’s cohort use of new media technology particularly the internet in migrants’ national belonging and national identity forming and expressions (Khan 2012c; Vertovec 2004; Morrell 2008). New media technologies are deployed by migrants towards accessing information, networking at the social, personal and professional levels, and expressing a ‘voice’ (see Gillespie 2007: 281). They are also used to participate in some democratic and political processes in both the host country and their homelands from where they fled persecution (Ostergaard-Nielson 2002; Vertovec 2004; Koopsman 2004; Siaper 2004, 2005; Parker and Song 2006). In this way, new media technology makes possible asylum seekers’ expression of multiple belongings to and identities with national and cultural communities including the host country and homelands (Morrell 2008). As a citizenship forming instrument therefore, new media technology makes possible the ‘deterritorialisation’ of collective belongings and identities that contrast to an ‘imagined’ British national and cultural identity often advocated in

government policies and in much of the UK press (Nolan 2006; Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 202). New media technology is in this regard crucial to migrants' transnational citizenship and the resilience of British multiculturalism. This suggests that migrants could simultaneously have emotional attachments and identification with, and participate in, the political, social and cultural institutions of their homelands and in those of the host country (Ostergaard-Nielson 2002; Vertovec 2004; Koopsman 2004; Wahl-Jorgensen 2006; Chadwick 2006; Burgess *et al.* 2006: 4; Gillespie 2007; Morrell 2008). Although not the initial focus of this study, the way interviewees use the Internet to orientate and contest the territorial constructions of identities, rights and membership is another exciting finding of this study. Little exists on how asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland create spaces of identification on the internet and how these locations, dislocations and positionalities could help us understand identity formations.

2.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored how belonging and identity are prerequisites of different forms of citizenship including national citizenship, responsible 'active' citizenship, and notions of multicultural and transnational citizenship. It has been explained how national citizenship confers an identity (i.e. a national, cultural or political) on an individual that determines their belonging to a particular state (Odmalm 2007: 21; Isin and Turner 2007: 14). The assumption is that being a citizen confers the same origin, nationality or culture on all members of the state with the expectation that they have certain rights and responsibilities. The chapter has explained how this 'Marshallian' conception of citizenship delineates three basic sets of rights, namely, social, civil and political that are available to members of the polity, even though other residents who are not citizens could qualify for these rights (Marshall 1950; Odmalm 2007). In this sense, British citizenship operates as an instrument of social stratification, can be inclusive and exclusive and is about equality in the acquisition of social and political rights in the polity (Silverstone and Gergiou 2005: 435; Isin and Turner 2007: 14; Baubock and Guiraudon 2009: 439; Hoxsey 2011: 918).

The chapter has also argued that New Labour's responsible citizenship expects individuals including migrants without the rights of membership to be responsible for inculcating a feeling of belonging and identity with the political community, meaning the state and the 'nation'. In this sense, it prioritises the responsibility of individuals to integrate into

Britishness. It has been suggested that at the conceptual level, multicultural and transnational citizenship prioritise multiple forms of national belonging and national identity to the host country and migrants' homelands respectively. These conceptions of citizenship have been critiqued for being pedagogical and therefore lacking a sociological dimension by neglecting the everyday experiences of would be citizens. As *Chapters 1 & 2* stated, it is this lacunae in our understanding of how belonging and identity are conceptualised, experienced and even contested that this study derived its impetus.

In the contemporary liberal state, however, the chapter suggests that news media offer spaces for the social construction of members of the political community. This is in relation to: who belongs or does not belong, what identities (national, cultural and political) constitute being a British citizen (Britishness), and what the rights and responsibilities of membership are (Billig 1995; Nolan 2006: 242). It has been reviewed that much of the hostile UK media coverage of asylum might affect the way asylum seekers/refugees participate equally in these rights, particularly in service provision. This could condition migrants' such as asylum seekers/refugees' inclusion and exclusion that intersect with their orientation to a feeling of belonging to and identification with the 'imagined' national, cultural and political community often debated or promoted in media spaces (Wood and King 2001; Hoxsey 2011; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Gillespie 2007). It is in news media spaces that journalists make judgements about who is a member of the British community and its 'imagined' identity, and prescribe the conditionalities of membership that makes news media a citizenship forming institution. It has therefore been suggested in this chapter that belonging and identity formations are upheld, propelled and made either possible or far-fetched for migrants by news media. This media agency is similar to ways traditionally supported by policymaking, or institutional structures such as the legal system and the welfare state. Like the 'restrictive' and 'identity-building' policies that are targeted at would be UK citizens, the chapter has explored the premise that it is in media spaces that identities, be they cultural, racial or national are 'narrativised', constructed and re-circulated.

The literature review would suggest a relationship between UK citizenship policies, the UK media and identity construction that could be described as ambiguous. On the one hand, citizenship policies construct refugees in liminal social identities, which are recirculated and sustained in media reporting. On the other hand, it could be argued that much of the media

construct asylum seekers/refugees in negative identities and a threat to a Britishness that, in turn, would evoke policies that are aimed at identity-building into an 'imagined' British nation. Both policymaking and media reporting therefore do not only construct pejorative asylum seekers/refugee social identities among the British public, but also among asylum seekers/refugees who are also media audiences. In addition, the literature review would suggest that policies and the media coverage do not only ascribed inferior identities to asylum seekers/refugees, but also prescribe their own form of Britishness. In this sense, as others have reminded us, political institutions through policies and media communication inform and shape the representation of collective identities (see Nolan 2006; Zargar 2004). This relationship between policymaking, media reporting and identity forming constitute the subtle manufacturing of consent around a dominant construction of a British national identity (see Gramsci 1971; Hall 1997; Statham 2002).

It is also worth highlighting that the linkage between citizenship policies, identity construction and the media is also underlined by policy interventions by both the UK and Scottish Governments. For example, the 'Community Cohesion Group' was set up by the Home Office to monitor and formulate strategies to improve the capacity of the UK media to positively report on the asylum issue. The Home office's National Refugee Integration Forum (NRIF) also put in place the 'Positive Images Sub Group' that was aimed at combating the negative images in the media (Finney 2005: 13). The Scottish Government implemented a similar policy in 2002 by putting in place the Scottish Integration Forum (SIF) Action Plan. This initiative required politicians in Scotland to take a lead role in working with journalists to help promote positive constructions of refugee identities and the integration of asylum seekers/refugees. Financial support was also provided to support a multi-agency approach to monitor and challenge negative media constructions of asylum seekers in the Scottish newspapers (Scottish Government 2005).

However, some areas in the theoretical and empirical accounts reviewed are poorly understood. My work will explore how non-citizens create spaces of belonging without having legal status of citizenship as envisioned by Marshall. This raises serious questions about the territorial construction of membership upon which legal status of citizenship and the attendant access to "Marshallian" rights, entitlements and obligations is based. It will also

develop our understanding of would be British citizens' views about processes of identity and their intersection with British citizenship.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter has three parts. The first will outline the aims of this study and the research questions that guided the gathering and analysis of the interview and media monitoring data. The rationale and assumptions of each research question are provided. The ways in which the media monitoring complement the interviews in exploring identity issues will also be considered. The second part will explain the qualitative study and analytical strategy employed. The third is the media monitoring that provides the justifications for focussing and selecting timelines and sources of newspapers that were monitored. It will also explain the use of content analysis and discourse stylistics approach to analyse the media data and their inherent strengths and weaknesses.

3.1 Aims, Objectives & Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore asylum seekers/refugees' formations of belonging and identity and their perceptions (beliefs and understandings) of the importance of UK media coverage in these processes. I am interested in understanding the facilitators including media coverage of feelings of national belonging and national identity among asylum seekers/refugees residing in Scotland. The thesis has therefore analysed selected UK newspapers to provide the context of asylum reporting at the time of interviews and to enable an assessment of interviewees' perceptions of the coverage. This was to inform consideration of the hypothesis that media coverage of asylum has outcomes for and evoke responses among asylum seekers/refugees including feelings of belonging to and identity with the UK, Scotland, homeland or any other community.

The research has the following research objectives:

- to explore asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity with the UK, Scotland and homelands,
- to explore asylum seekers/refugees' experiences and perceptions of UK newspapers' treatment of asylum and how these intersect with orientations to national belonging and national identity,

- to assess selected UK newspaper content for the reality of asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions of media coverage of asylum, and
- to identify any insights that are relevant to consideration of the hypothesis that feelings of belonging and identity are related to perceptions of UK newspapers' reporting of asylum among asylum seekers/refugees.

The above research aims and objectives were further operationalised by the following three research questions:

1. *What are asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity?*
2. *What are asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions of newspapers' coverage of the asylum issue and its importance, if any, to their national belonging and identity forming?*
3. *What other insights into the relationship between identity and UK newspapers' coverage of asylum can be gained from asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions?*

Question 1 is aimed at developing an understanding of the motivations and orientations behind asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of national belonging and national identity with reference to the UK, Scotland and their homelands. This will tease out the factors that would facilitate or hinder feelings of belonging and identity, and asylum seekers/refugees' prioritising of British or Scottish national identity, where this is the case. It has been revealed that Barclay et al (2003) and Stewart and Mulvey (2010) found that asylum seekers/refugees undertake social actions including volunteering and social interaction with locals. While both studies found that these practices can facilitate asylum seekers/refugees' inclusion and integration into the mainstream, they missed an opportunity to explore how asylum seekers/refugees use such practices to create spaces for belonging and identity forming. This study will build on their work by developing an understanding on how the proactive social actions and practices by asylum seekers/refugees create spaces for their meanings, constructions and contestations of identities. The assumption was that asylum seekers/refugees' opinions and experiences of what causes them to have a sense of national belonging to and national identity with the UK or Scotland possible or unattainable are yet to be fully understood or reflected in theoretical developments and policymaking. Thus far, much of the theoretical and policymaking accounts and meanings of citizenship has lacked an

empirical analysis of the lived experiences of how would be British citizens construct and contest these ‘prescribed’ identities and forms of belonging.

Question 2 narrows the analysis of the component factors to focus on interviewees’ perceptions, experiences and understandings of the media coverage. The literature review and the media analysis of *Chapter 6* will explore how asylum seekers/refugees are ‘objects’ of media stories and social concern, while as ‘subjects’ they are also recipients of media stories, and therefore constitute media audiences. It was therefore assumed that their sense of belonging and identity formations cannot be understood in isolation of the high visibility of asylum seekers/refugees in the UK media over the last two decades (EUMC 2002; Statham 1999; Buchanan and Grillo 2003). The scholarly opinion reviewed in the literature (see *Chapter 2*) highlighted a media dynamic to an individual’s (and social and marginalised groups) construction of the ‘nation’ and the ability to develop a feeling of belonging to its ‘imagined’ cultural and national identity. The scholarly consensus has been that while the majority of work has criticised media treatment of ethnic minorities, less has investigated their views on how they received media messages. Barclay et al (2003) found that service providers and asylum seekers in Glasgow felt that hostile coverage generated public hostility, racism and community tensions that might hinder asylum seekers’ resettlement, integration and good community relations. The study also found that community actors said the mainstream press was a culprit, while praising the community newspapers for positive coverage. However, their study did not specifically focus on belonging and identity issues, neither did it explore asylum seekers’ views about community newspapers. Moreover, the study and those of others tell us little about either asylum seekers/refugees’ own interpretations, contestations and explanations for the coverage or about how they would like their identities to be constructed. Stewart and Mulvey’s study (2010: 34) that specifically investigated asylum seekers/refugees’ meanings and understandings of belonging and identity in relation to Britishness and territorial identities did not explore a media dynamic. However, the Stewart and Mulvey study (2010) hinted at an interviewee’s self-perception of a media dynamic in public constructions of negative refugee identity that caused stigma among asylum seekers. Yet, they missed an opportunity to explore with asylum seekers/refugees the ways the perceived media-generated stigma influenced their ability to develop feelings of belonging to and identity with Britishness and Scottishness to improve our understanding of how media-based issues are related to migrant identity formations. As already reviewed,

studies in the early 1990s to mid-2000s have hypothesised that there is a relationship between media coverage and public attitudes to asylum seekers/refugees. Yet, more needs to be learned about asylum seekers/refugees' experiences of media messages, and how the latter relate to asylum seekers' social relationships with British citizens and institutions (see Statham 2002; Murphy 1998). This has led to calls for research to not just "denounce negative media contents, but [they] should focus more onaudience reception of media messages" (EUMC 2002: 78) and focus on social relationships among society's members (Statham 2002: 415). *Question 2* is therefore intended to develop an understanding of the reception and interpretations of UK newspapers' reporting by a particular segment of the media audience - asylum seekers/refugees, and how these are perceived to relate to their belonging and identity forming.

Question 3 enabled a monitoring of a number of UK newspapers to provide the context of UK newspaper reporting of asylum that interviewees' perceived to be important to their orientations to a sense of belonging and identity processes. It enabled an assessment of newspaper content to enable a consideration of the hypothesis that feelings of belonging and identity in asylum seekers/refugees are related to perceptions of the coverage. Given that much needs to be learned about the relationship between asylum seekers/refugees' identity formations and perceptions of media impact, this question provided an opportunity to identify any unexpected, but interesting results relating to issues of identity. More importantly, the assumption was that the perspectives of asylum seekers/refugees, who are 'objects' of media stories and social concern and also media audiences, have been under-explored in theoretical debates of UK media coverage of asylum. For example, the question made it possible for exploring in more detail than before interviewees' opinions of a difference between 'Scottish' and 'English' (meaning London) newspapers in the coverage. Interviewees' views of this distinction increased in significance in relation to previous studies that have analysed UK newspaper coverage of asylum. Previous studies have tended to categorise UK newspapers as either 'British', 'English', 'Scottish' or 'national'. For example, studies either homogenise 'Fleet Street' and their 'Scottish editions' as either the Scottish or 'national' press or homogenise 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Fleet Street' as London newspapers, 'English', 'British' or 'national' (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Mollard 2001; Wilson 2004). This has therefore not done justice to the Scottish context and a notion of the 'British' media would be misleading. The question therefore led to an examination, in more detail than before, the

distinction between Scottish ('indigenous' and 'local-indigenous') and London newspapers ('Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Fleet Street') in the coverage. The analysis would develop an understanding on the nuances in the political geography of asylum reporting in the UK. *Question 3* also enabled an exploration of other media types including newspapers interviewees engaged with. For example, and as shown later in *Chapters 5 & 8*, interviewees' praise community newspapers for the positive coverage of the asylum issue, which is an unexpected, but significant finding of this study.

The rationale behind these research questions was that ethnic minority migrants' formations of national belonging and national identity are multiple and complex (as is the case with UK citizens). This study does not make claims of a media influence and recognises that to do so would be a risky empirical project. However, its rationale was that in addition to government policies, other powerful institutions of society may be important in forced migrants' orientations to identity processes. The assumption was that experiences of social circumstances and contexts including media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees have concrete outcomes for asylum seekers/refugees and it is important to how they react to (imagine and evoke) forms of belonging and identity processes. It is therefore important to understand these reactions, be they perceptions, practices or actions through which asylum seekers/refugees engaged with each other, and with British citizens and institutions. It is bound to impinge on the ways subordinate groups negotiate, contest pedagogical and public construction of Britishness as either political, cultural or a national community. In addition, Goldsmith's review (2009: 86) noted that British citizens expect the government and British media to play a role in non-citizens' orientations to British citizenship.

The research questions and underlying assumptions necessitated a research strategy that combined both qualitative interviews and media monitoring. The qualitative research facilitated the gathering of experiences, perceptions (opinions, beliefs and understandings) and the identifying of social actions or practices among the cohort. These experiences, perceptions and practices impinged on interviewees' sense of belonging and identification with the nation as either a national, cultural or political community. The study's in-depth semi-structured interview format generated the data that was subjected to a manual thematic analysis. The monitoring was to identify newspaper asylum stories that could be shown to interviewees to trigger discussions during the interviews. It was also to help contextualise

interviewees' meanings, understandings and contestations of identities. In addition, the asylum stories generated by the media monitoring were analysed and discussed with reference to interviewees' perceptions of media coverage and its importance to their orientations to belonging and identity. *Research Questions 2 and 3* therefore paved the way for testing the reality of interviewees' perceptions of the media coverage including constructions of refugees. Both media and interview data informed the analytical categories and the theoretical issues that are discussed in this thesis. Another rationale was that, as Clark and Campbell reminded us, there is no specific or single theoretical framework for interpreting media messages or the relationship between 'text' and their readers (2000: 31). They argued that the scholarly consensus has been that understanding a 'text' achieves plausibility by reflecting readers' 'own frame of reference' and understandings. I have therefore prioritised interviewees' interpretations of the coverage in testing for a media dynamic because they constitute media audiences and have been the focus of such coverage.

The research design recognised that there might be other issues that interviewees would like to talk about, which are relevant to their belonging and identity forming. One of the unexpected findings that is worth reporting is that although this study is interested in the print media, other forms of media communication such as non-journalistic forms or new media technology that interviews engaged with were identified. For example, though not the focus of this study, asylum seekers/refugees widely used the Internet to access newspapers and to express a feeling of belonging and identity with others within and beyond the territorial borders of the UK, more of which in *Chapter 8*. These issues have been analysed because the research design allows flexibility to do so (Silverman 2005; Berry 2005). It also demonstrates that the analysis is led by the data, and to ignore interviewees' concern would likely compound the way they felt media and political elites have treated them.

3.2 The Qualitative Study

3.2.1 Profile of Interviewees & Research Locales

The twenty-three interviewees that participated in this study resided in urban centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Thirteen lived in Glasgow, in the housing estates of Pollok, Kinnieshead, Maryhill and Sighthill. The other ten interviewees lived in west Edinburgh, mostly in Wester Hailes, Broomhouse and Sighthill. Glasgow was chosen as a research locale because it was the only city in Scotland hosting dispersed asylum seekers, and the largest

destination for dispersal in the UK (Rosenberg 2008: 43)⁷. Edinburgh was chosen because of social and financial expediency, as I was resident there, and interacted with asylum seeker/refugee social networks; it made travelling cheaper, and enabled the recruiting of interviewees.

The cohort included twelve females and eleven males aged between 26 and 65 years. Eight interviewees, including four males and four females, described themselves as Muslims. The other fifteen described themselves as Christians. There were no secular respondents. Seventeen interviewees are parents, including seven single parents and ten either married or cohabiting. At time of fieldwork, three interviewees had been granted British citizenship, another seven had legal residency status, either as refugees or Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR), while the rest have asylum-seeker status. The ascribing of socio-categories of religion (Muslim, and Christian); and family (single parent; cohabiting) were done by self-identification (see Appendix 1).

The cohort fled persecution from fourteen different nation-states in Africa, Asia and South America. One interviewee each came from Chile, Columbia, Nigeria, Angola, Eritrea, Algeria, Cameroon, Burundi, Malawi, Pakistan and Iraq. Two each came from Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda, and three each are from Zimbabwe and Somalia. Except for the Chilean who came in the early 70's, all sought asylum between 1997 and 2005. Ten were participating in either citizenship or language classes.

Except for one interviewee who described herself as “illiterate” (Romi), all (22) interviewees were educated to at least higher education level. By ‘illiterate’, the interviewee meant she “cannot read and write in English or any other language” (Romi). A majority (18) had professional qualifications in journalism, health, teaching, engineering, art, politics, computing and administration. Twelve achieved professional qualifications before arrival, whilst six achieved theirs upon arrival in the UK. Only three were employed in their chosen career of teaching, nursing and art. Seven others were in menial jobs or outside their chosen careers as security-escorts, cleaners, and carers. Most (14) were excluded by law from being employed. The educational background of the cohort was justified on the basis that it

7 There is a one-off small Gateway Resettlement Project for refugees operating in Motherwell.

reflected the general trend in the professional and educational profile of asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. For example, a skills audit of asylum seekers/refugees in Glasgow found that they were in general well educated and qualified (Charlaff *et al.* 2004; Sim and Bowes 2007: 737). In addition, Sim and Bowes found that asylum seekers/refugees had a high motivation to work, participate in further education and professional development and training, even though they were likely to have their professional skills underutilised (Sim and Bowes 2007: 738). The cohort therefore should not be seen as biased towards those who are educated and ‘empowered’. An educated cohort had the advantage of averting my initial reservations that interviewees might not understand research concepts such as belonging and identity.

3.2.2 Accessing and Sampling ‘Hidden’ Populations

There has been an absence of accurate data on asylum seekers/refugees residing in host countries, including the UK (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). Zetter *et al.* (2003) attributed this to asylum seekers/refugees being a ‘hidden’ community emanating from their social exclusion; constantly evading deportation and reluctance by governments to highlight the true number of refugees for politically expedient reasons (Zetter *et al.*, 2003; Hynes 2003: 10). Consequently, this and the diversity in terms of nationalities, ethnicities, socio-economic, cultural and professional profiles, lent itself to a methodological problem in this research: the lack of comprehensive data to reflect either the diversity or the representativeness of the interviewees in relation to the population of asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. It made it difficult to convincingly draw a representative sample⁸ (Temple and Moran 2006; Jacobsen and Landau 2003). A ‘saturation’ strategy was therefore employed that made it possible to undertake as many interviews as possible in relation to key demographics until no new information or perspective was yielded. It could be argued that findings from a small sample are un-generalisable and unrepresentative, which can compromise the use of findings for ‘advocacy’ in refugee research (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). However, this was mitigated by acknowledging the heterogeneity of experiences of the cohort and being both explicit about the claims of the research and recognising the limitations of findings (Rosenberg 2008: 47; Clarke 2005; Robson 2002). The intention therefore was to provide the diversity of

⁸ See Rosenberg (2008), who also encountered similar problems and deploy similar strategies.

experiences as far as practically possible to reflect diverse ethnic, religious and professional complexities (Malkki 1995: 496).

To mitigate the lack of a representative sampling frame, a non-probability, 'convenience' and non-random sampling that combined snowballing and opportunistic recruitment methods was employed (Doheny 2007: 411). Snowballing implies recruiting interviewees through others that participated in interviews. This would explain why some interviewees knew each other by either living in the same neighbourhood or participating in the same activities such as volunteering. Opportunistic recruitment refers to accidental or off-chance encounters with asylum seekers/refugees that were then asked to participate as interviewees. Different networks were used to access interviewees including attending public and private meetings, social functions and other activities organised for asylum seekers/refugees by 'less visible or less prominent' gatekeeper agencies, including Refugee Community Organisations - (RCOs), (Castles 2002; Hynes 2003; Jacobsen and Landau 2003). This was to directly meet and briefly talk to asylum seekers/refugees about my research. In addition, I would usually hang around gatekeepers' premises, with the consent of gatekeepers, to recruit interviewees without asking the centre's staff to do so. Further, I attended organisations' annual general meetings (AGM), to recruit interviewees. They were then asked to provide me with contact details or left them with mine, so that they could contact me to learn more about my research or participate as interviewees. Using different networks to access and directly recruit interviewees was to minimize the involvement of gatekeepers in the recruiting process. It mitigated the use of 'usual suspects', who were likely to suffer from research fatigue that could lead to production of rehearsed responses; and that were in the interest of 'gate keepers' (Bloch 1999; Lewis 2003; Castles 2002; Hynes 2003; Jacobsen and Landau 2003). As others have cautioned, while using 'gate keepers' was an expedient and efficient way to access 'hard-to-reach' populations and in facilitating trust between researcher and interviewees, the above limitations could lead to restrictions to knowledge production (Rosenberg 2008: 49; Hynes 2003; Lee 1993: 124). In her recent study, Rosenberg observed that while gatekeepers played a significant role in accessing asylum seekers/refugees, she was restricted from taking notes when observing meetings (Rosenberg 2008: 49). In the end, only three gatekeepers were contacted to seek permission to attend their activities.

Overall, snowballing initiated only four interviews. Fears expressed by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) that snowballing runs the risk of disclosing sensitive information to others, were borne in mind. Two approaches to address this ethical dilemma were used. Firstly, interviewees were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. Secondly, I refrained from talking about other interviewees' responses, and discouraged interviewees from talking about others in ways that would compromise confidentiality by sensitively steering the conversation away to focus on research issues. Nonetheless, it was normal that interviews would refer to another interviewee who initiated the 'referral' during the interview (Atkinson and Flint 2001). I found such referencing useful as an 'ice breaking' activity to establish rapport with, and trust of interviewees.

3.2.3 Interviews

Interviews were conducted between 2007 and 2008 in the interviewees' homes, in cafes, and 'rented' venues. By 'rented', I refer to venues that were hired for interviewing, and owned by either service providers or community centres in interviewees' neighbourhood. Interviewees were informed that I was not an employee of or associated with the agency that owned the interview premises. As already stated, this was to mitigate the limitations of using gatekeepers. The venues were easily accessible; and were only used upon interviewees' consent. Two interviewees disapproved of venues in their locality for reasons they would not disclose, and alternate venues of their choice were selected. Eleven interviews were conducted in interviewees' homes; four in cafes; and eight in 'rented' venues. All but three recording sessions went well. The three-taped recordings were inaudible due to noisy phone conversations of other members of the household and screams of children. Nonetheless, the interviews were still usable and complemented by notes.

Data was gathered through semi-structured, face-to-face individual interviews that used a checklist interview format containing areas to be explored with interviewees (see Appendix 2). Interviews took the form of a conversation that enabled interviewees to talk freely with minimal interruptions. In addition, as Rubin and Rubin (1995: 76) observed, my 'insider' status made interviewees "talk in depth" because they perceived me as "familiar with and sympathetic to their world". This conversational form of interviewing caused some interviews to last over two hours, beyond the anticipated one-and-half hours. On two occasions, interviews lasted for three hours, an eventuality that I had already prepared for. Venues were

booked to cover longer periods, mostly on half a day basis, as well as leaving a two-hourly gap between interviews to respond to this eventuality. Interviews were conducted at times suitable for interviewees in order to increase participation rates and to respond to cultural sensitivities. For example, fieldwork spanned the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, and therefore impinged on the participation of Muslim interviewees. It did so in a minimal way, as some interviewees preferred to be interviewed in the morning, between 09.00hrs and 12.00hrs.

All interviews were in English, voice recorded, and accompanied by field notes that recorded contextual information that would be useful in the analysis. The use of interpreters for non-English speakers was considered, but was financially expensive. In addition, it was assumed that interpreters might be active in the production of knowledge that might bring ethnic, class and racial bias against interviewees (Mackenzie *et al.* 2007). Further, interpreters might breach confidentiality, and the idea was discarded. I also took field notes of conversations that occurred outside interview venues, particularly as we travelled together on the bus, train or walked along the streets to and from interviews. These ‘back-stage’ chats (Mackenzie *et al.* 2007: 315) helped me to glean information that was relevant to issues explored in the study. Where necessary, crosschecking was done on seven occasions by phone, and by two face-to-face meetings to seek clarifications, as well as to mitigate misunderstandings, inaccuracies, and bias (Lewis 2003; Arthur and Nazroo 2003).

Interviewees were given opportunities to comment and offer suggestions on the interview sessions including my interviewing techniques, and overall research process (Lewis 2003, Beresford and Evans 1999). Many suggested that I should interview journalists to ask why “they [journalists] hate them [asylum seekers/refugees]” (Fiso). Others expressed hope that something good would come out of my research. I explained that since my research was towards an academic qualification, it is limited in scope and focus, and that I was only investigating their views. Interviewees were informed that it is unlikely that the research will bring the expected outcome that they desire. However, interviewees were informed that the research findings would be disseminated through academic publications, and highlight their suggestions in my thesis so that their ‘voices’ would reach policymakers. In addition, they were offered the opportunity to read the thesis or any publication at any time they would like. Interviewees gave consent for the dissemination of research findings in any way that could

reach policymakers and journalists. The feedback was therefore helpful in reflecting and reviewing my engagement with research subjects and generating data (Lewis 2003).

The discussions included the following:

- experiences of living in Britain, England and Scotland; the local neighbourhood, and occasionally touching on their homelands,
- expectations, roles, rights and responsibilities of being a citizen of any country including the UK,
- views and rationale behind interviewees' identity preference in relation to UK, England, Scotland,
- do they have a feeling of belonging to and identity with their homeland, Scotland, England, UK or any other place,
- what factors influence or hinder their feeling of belonging, identity, participation,
- experiences of engaging with news media, and narrowing down to newspapers and representations of the asylum issue,
- perceptions of the impact of media coverage on feelings of belonging and identity to homeland, Britain, England, Scotland, community or any other place,
- Muslim interviewees were specifically asked about what they think about being Muslim and British.

Sixteen interviews were fully transcribed, and I partially transcribed the other seven. Partial transcription involved listening through the recorded interviews and transcribing those areas that are deemed as relevant to emerging themes. It was also to select relevant quotes that could be used for illustrative purposes. Partial transcription also entailed the use of detailed interview notes. Quotes are drawn from both partial and full transcripts. To enable the analysis, specific questions were devised to interrogate the interview data. These questions are highlighted with reference to the main research questions listed above throughout the thesis. This is to show how the main research questions are being addressed in the analysis. This is also based on the assumption that interpreting and analysing a 'text' or 'narrative' achieves plausibility by reflecting the researchers' frame of reference (Atkinson 1990; Clark and Campbell 2000).

3.2.4 Analytical Strategy

My analytical strategy was driven by a desire to examine the interviews with a view to identify factors that may facilitate or hinder asylum seekers/refugees' ability to have a feeling of identification with their locality, Scotland, the UK, homeland or any other community. Following Gillespie (2005: 475), I did not initially set out to highlight this sociological framing of the analysis. However, I found 'intersectionality' and 'translocational positionality', when used in combination, to be useful analytical concepts for critically assessing how interviewees' construct and orientate to national belonging and national identity (Anthias 2001, 2009; Hopkins 2007). This is because, while 'intersectionality' takes into account the interconnections of social cleavages or categories such as gender, ethnicity and class in the analysis of belonging and identity, it has some shortcomings. It treats identity as a 'possessive' and 'fixed' attribute of individuals and groups (Anthias 2009: 5). In addition, while 'intersectionality' is a useful concept in exploring 'hyphenated' identities, it tells us little about the reasons for the individual's identification with these imaginaries (Hopkins 2007). It might also underplay the complexity of the way individuals experience belonging, inclusion-exclusion and identities.

To counterbalance this, 'translocational positionality' is also employed in the analysis to take into account an individual's 'locations', 'dislocations' and 'positionalities'. Its key assumption is that, in understanding issues of identity, we should pay attention to the diversity of identities in relation to different locations. These locations are context-dependent, transient and fluid and therefore bound to be contradictory or ambivalent. Unlike 'intersectionality' that seeks to understand how social categories of gender, ethnicity and class intersect, 'translocational positionality' accords prominence to social locations and processes (Anthias 2005: 5). Both concepts are therefore suited for analysing identities because the contemporary state has migrants with ethnic and cultural ties at national and transnational levels. Both would enable the exploring of social processes and relations with regards to boundaries of belonging and identity. This is especially in the case of asylum seekers/refugees who, in the process of resettling in the host country, transform these into translocational spaces that may also affect locals or indigenes. As I argued elsewhere, and later in *Chapter 8*, asylum seekers/refugees have multiple identities that challenge the territorial construction of the state (Khan 2012a, c). They also challenge indigenes (British citizens) and the media through social action to improve positively their construction of refugee identities, which are

transnational, fluid and complex, issues that *Research Question 2* aim to address (see *Chapters 7 & 8*). By employing these analytical concepts, we will better understand these identity processes within these ‘translocational’ contexts of multiple locations, positions and belonging that is time and place bound (Anthias 2009: 7). Their combined use will shed insights into how these identities are experienced, narrated and ‘imagined’ as shared values, networks and practices in relation to social positions and interactions with key institutions including policies and media. The concepts are therefore well suited for exploring the vocabulary and logics (reasoning) employed in narrating experiences and trajectories of belonging and identity.

Furthermore, the concepts are suitable for investigating ‘relations’ and ‘perceptions’ rather than for establishing a causality link. Ascertaining a ‘cause and effect’ relationship between news media and any social phenomenon is problematic (see Coleman and Spiller 2003; Jensen 1991). It is difficult to say with certitude that news media rather than some intervening factors have caused something to happen. It is specifically significant to understand the relationship between such perceptions and interviewees’ interaction with the broader public including British citizens (see Section 3.2). This is because ‘perceptions’ incorporate beliefs and subjectivities that are products of individual and collective experiences. Such beliefs, as others have argued, affect attitudes and behaviour as well as inter-group relations that would impinge on individuals’ feelings of belonging and identity (Jensen 1991; Haynes *et al.* 2009: 3). Investigating ‘perceptions’ and ‘relations’ therefore would make the findings more robust, while of course running the risk that these ‘perceptions’ and ‘relations’ might be misplaced. Even being misplaced does not make such ‘perceptions’ and ‘relations’ any less significant or ‘real’. As Stalker (1998: 5) reminded us, researching subjectivities is justified because individuals are the best authority to speak on their own lives, experiences and beliefs. Such subjectivities embody their social worlds, values, locations and contexts from which identities are imagined and narrated and could be better understood.

Following Byrne (2007), I analysed each interview to explore how interviewees talked about issues of identification in relation to themes, language, vocabularies, their logic or reasoning and contexts. The emerging themes and issues in the interview data were subjected to grouping, coding and matrix tabulation. Some of the themes were already evident in the checklist that was used during interviews. Many more were identified manually from the data.

This was to identify similarities, differences and unique or outlier cases. A manual interrogation of data was preferred because that was a process of analysis I was conversant and comfortable with. It involved the constant revision of codes to reflect emerging themes, concepts and views from data and analytical process. These were compared across the whole range of data as was available and necessary. A considerable number of themes, concepts and views were generated. These were further scaled down through a 'reductionist' process to smaller sets (Silverman 2005). The 'final' themes, concepts and views that were generated from this process are intended to reflect the main focus of this study.

3.2.5 Ethics: anonymity and consent

Ethical considerations permeated every stage of research. I expected that some interviewees might be engaged in illegal activities (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). In this regard, issues of ethics, anonymity and confidentiality were paramount not only to gain the trust and protect the personal safety of interviewees, but also as Humphries and Martin (1999: 110) observed were "fundamental to making claims about knowledge". Guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity were reiterated, so that interviewees who might be illegally staying in the country, or thought that their asylum claim could be jeopardised, could participate without fear (Powles 2004). However, interviewees were informed that any disclosure of illegality might be reported as deemed necessary. Areas of 'off-limit' were discussed and agreed with interviewees before interviews, and explained to interviewees that they could refrain from discussing any issue they found uncomfortable (Powles 2004). In addition, it was agreed with interviewees to withdraw from the interview at any point they felt the discussions were intrusive or emotionally draining. We also agreed that as interviewer I would do the same if I felt a similar emotional burden.

Interviewees were given pseudonyms, and all personal information in this thesis has either been changed or omitted to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. By this is meant that any information relating to residence; and names of interviewees they referred to in their responses such as friends, spouses and children have been changed. It has been argued that it is significant to provide personal information as a component of contextual information that might enhance the meaning-making process and help the reader assess the validity of conclusions (Ber-Pedersen and Montgomery 2006: 99). However, the anonymity of interviewee should be prioritised for two reasons; firstly, it has been agreed with interviewees

to keep their identity confidential, and secondly, recruiting interviewees through snowballing lent itself to the risk of linking identities of interviewees to potentially damaging information (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). No interviewee disclosed an illegal act. There were few emotional moments, and interviews were stopped temporarily. As others cautioned, I had to be careful that the interview did not become a ‘trauma-exploration’ that will re-traumatise interviewees and emotionally become exploitative (Kisson 2006: 88).

Verbal consent was sought to use recordings and take notes, and interviewees were encouraged to let me know of any issue they would not like to be recorded (Powles 2004). Seeking consent was not only done before interviews, but was also reiterative. This was significant in two respects. Firstly, the transient nature of asylum statuses implied that interviewees’ circumstances would likely change, and therefore they might retract a consent they granted prior to interview. However, this never happened. Secondly, as already mentioned, I sometimes gleaned information from ‘back-stage’ chats, including whilst travelling with interviewees on the bus to and from an interview session. In this event, it was only morally ethical that consent was sought to use such information (Mackenzie *et al.*, 2007: 308). Interviewees were reminded that they could contact me in the event that they would like to raise any issue, retrieve or amend any comment relating to the interview; or even retract the whole interview. As it turned out, none of this happened.

3.2.6 Reflexivity & ‘Ethics’ of Representation

The issue of representation underpinned the analysis, and intrinsically the subtext of this study: how asylum seekers/refugees were represented in media spaces; and how they would like to be represented. As already stated, a qualitative research and media monitoring strategy was used because it facilitated a research design that allowed interviewees to express ‘voices’ grounded in their experiences (Bryman 2001: 279), which would enable these to be tested against the media data. I bore in mind that the analysis ought to be accurate in representing interviewees’ beliefs, practices and actions relating to belonging and identity forming and the UK press’s role in this process. Using a qualitative strategy was therefore not aimed at representing the ‘truth’, or one perspective, but about being ‘faithful’ to the lived worlds of interviewees (Saukko 2003). This was possible through a reflexive process. By reflexive process is meant the ways in which as researcher I had to constantly scrutinise ‘what

I know' and 'how I know it' in order to understand interviewees' experiences and 'social worlds' (Hertz in Brent 2009: 144).

My social relationship with a few interviewees; and sharing the same socio-demographic of being a refugee myself, a fact known to all interviewees, could compromise interviewees' responses. Measures were therefore employed to guard against this. They included adopting an open mind to interviewees' responses; and refraining from influencing such responses as much as possible (Kezar 2005). In addition, 'respondent validation' was used to elicit feedback and crosscheck accuracy of interviewees' information to ensure that my biases and views did not affect my ability to analyse the data 'objectively' (Arthur and Nazroo 2003).

Reflexivity also entails paying attention to contextual and emotional processes during the interview. By this, is meant emotional characteristics, accounts and practices that draw attention to meaning that is relevant in understanding the issue being investigated. Note taking of contextual information to inform my analysis, and to mitigate against bias was therefore useful in this regard (Creswell 1998; Beresford and Evans 1999; Arthur and Nazroo 2003; Small and Uttal 2005; Kezar 2005). Paying attention to context enabled a deeper understanding of why interviewees prioritised certain issues and views, and why they participated in certain actions (Silverman 2002: 8). For example, during fieldwork, the issue of knife crime as prevalent among the African and Caribbean communities was hotly debated in media and political spaces. This could explain interviewees' conception of citizenship as having a feeling of belonging and identity that is anchored in 'being a good parent' and 'good role models'. This context informed my analysis, and was crosschecked and endorsed by four interviewees as accurate. It recognised that relating interviewees' stories to the social and political contexts that shaped their lives was crucial in giving meaning to victims of forced migration (Mestheneos and Ioannidi 2006: 31; Eastmond 2007: 252).

In order to attain clarity, interviewees were asked to provide their own definitions of concepts or words to mitigate misunderstanding. For example, one interviewee was asked to explain what she meant by being 'illiterate' in English. She explained this to imply being unable to read and write in not only English, but also any other language including her mother tongue. Any ambiguity in accounts and misunderstandings of issues and policies were sensitively discussed and resolved with interviewees. This was with a view to clarify them or understand

interviewees' positions. For example, two interviewees misunderstood left wing and liberal newspapers such as *the Guardian* as owned by the then governing New Labour party. Challenging interviewees' views risked what Brent (2009) described as perpetuating the unequal power between subjugated groups being researched, and the researcher. In this case, the intention was not to probe whether or not 'the truth' was being told, but only to use the interview to clarify potential misunderstandings and as avenues for learning and knowledge transfer. This means a process of engaging with interviewees to correct a misunderstanding they hold, and learn about an issue. Asking interviewees to explain or define concepts and terms was crucial in generating categories and themes. Seeking such clarifications was imperative for an 'ethics' of representation of their views given the differences in ethnic and cultural background between interviewees and me. In most cases, interviewees gave very affective responses to the issues being investigated, which was not surprising given the traumatic experiences of asylum seekers/refugees, and as mentioned above, belonging and identity as affective dimensions of citizenship. The use of affective language in this thesis therefore was intended to affirm the emotional dimension to interviewees' experiences (Zarowski 2006). It is also consistent with using 'intersectionality' and 'translocational positionality' as concepts in analysing the way identities are narrated and mobilised by forced migrants.

However, contextualising interviewees' perceptions and conveying their affective representations should not preclude a critical analysis. As Brent observed, 'accepting uncritically the truth claims made by subjugated knowledge' runs a danger of the 'positivist belief in one true interpretation of reality' (Brent 2009: 101). Ample quotes from both interview and media monitoring data have been used to capture the direct experiences of interviewees and to illustrate the magnitude of the media reporting. Quotes were minimally edited, and only where this aided clarity (Hopkins 1993: 123; Corden and Sainsbury 2006: 105). Quotes are drawn from both the partially and fully transcribed interviews. Where this was done it has been indicated with standard conventions: square brackets such as '[]' have been used to show that words have been inserted, full stops such as '...' to indicate missing words. Some interviewees' responses were deployed more than others, however, it did not imply bias, and overusing some interviewees' quotes might be that they 'speak more powerfully; or use language which resonates with issues and concepts being investigated' (Rosenberg 2008; Corden and Sainsbury 2006: 68). The quotes are not representative and

have not been selected for their ‘statistical generalisability’. Following Gillespie, as a qualitative study, quotes were intended to ‘elicit indicative, typical and revealing patterns of perceptions’ (2003: 409). It is worth noting that different readers of the quotations (both interview and media) may interpret or ‘appreciate’ them differently, and come to a different conclusion from mine. In such an eventuality, it underscores that interpretation and meaning making is nuanced, and informed by different contextual and reflexive processes (Pietikainen and Dufva 2006: 212). On many occasions, therefore, paraphrasing was used side-by-side with verbatim quotes.

3.2.7 Methodological Insight: *positionality*, *‘latent aversion’* & *‘voice’*

Social science literature has acknowledged the benefits of using as researchers those with ‘insider’ knowledge to research vulnerable groups including asylum seekers/refugees. The benefits derived by being an ‘insider’, including building trust, bridging cultural understanding and for its empowerment potential have been noted in the literature (Bloch 1999; Jacobsen and Landau 2003; Hynes 2003; Kosygina 2005; Dona 2007). However, I encountered some unexpected limitations emanating from my ‘insider’ status that are worth reporting because they have implications for researching disenfranchised groups that have been overlooked. This is with reference to ‘shifting positionality’, participation and claims making in interviews.

All interviewees considered me as an ‘insider’, for reasons that relate to interviewees’ beliefs about belonging and identity status. These include being an asylum seeker/refugee, Muslim, African, and therefore of ethnic minority background. Interviewees therefore perceived me to share some ethnic identities, understand or have common knowledge with them; identify with the asylum-seeker/refugee’s plight; and to articulate properly their views, emotions and experiences. These perceptions led interviewees to trust me. In contrast, they depicted media and political elites as ‘outsiders’ (both culturally and racially), particularly those who depicted them in pejorative terms. As will be explored, interviewees felt the hostile depictions were partly to blame for the lack of public understanding of the plight of asylum seekers/refugees and their cultural identities and values, especially about Muslims. As discussed in *Chapter 5* & *6*, interviewees blame the depictions for the lack of empathy among journalists and the public. Interviewees therefore used the ‘us & them’ binary in the same way as the media narratives encountered in the media monitoring in *Chapter 6*, except that the ‘us’ referred to

asylum seekers/refugees, while news media is the 'them'. It might be that, as others have argued, the 'us and them' discursive binary is a fact of life that underpins much of the narrative of identity and belonging (Hall 1982). In this case, identity is shifting and contingent on an individual's sensibilities (ideological or otherwise) and expectations.

Nonetheless, interviewees' perceptions that I shared the same cultural (and in some cases national) and social identity with them resulting in my inclusion in the 'us' category, lent itself to 'shifting positionalities'. By this, I mean there were seemingly various degrees of being an 'insider' emanating from different experiences of persecution, flight and access to welfare entitlements in the UK, and from ethno-cultural and gender backgrounds. For example, at times I felt I was an 'insider' having been an asylum seeker in the sense that the experiences and issues interviewees recounted resonated with mine. They included being a victim of persecution that caused my flight; exclusion from some British citizenship rights; experiences of public hostility, albeit in varying degrees, and, having shared perceptions that media coverage was exacerbating my exclusion. However, I felt more in common as an 'insider' with some male African interviewees because we shared cultural similarities than others from Asia or with different religious and gender identities. Nevertheless, on other occasions I felt like an 'outsider' even among African male interviewees when the accounts were beyond my experience. They included harrowing accounts of 'flight' or 'escape' from persecution to the UK via life-threatening means of "smuggling gangs" (Taja). In addition, the negative impact of UK government policies, processes and structures on the lives of some interviewees made me feel that I was lucky and that I had it so easy. I attributed the variation in our experiences to frequent changes in policies and locations or 'dislocations' that provided different contexts from which social processes are experienced.

It is also worth commenting on my 'positionality' with female interviewees, especially Muslims. While I was familiar with the courtesies of social interaction with Muslim women, there were times when I was a bit cautious during the interview. I wanted to avert any incidental transgression that could emanate from cultural oversights. However, female Muslim interviewees were keen to pick up on my timidity, and at times even had to reassure me not to be "worried about whether I would offend [them]" (Haja). They also observed that they understood the different roles of researcher and interviewee. Drawing attention to Muslim women is to highlight that this group of migrants are keen to participate in contrast to

public perceptions that they are insular. In addition, all female Muslim interviewees said being an asylum seeker made them consider me as one of them, a status that was seemingly prioritised over gender, racial, cultural or religious characteristics (Field notes, June 2008). Seemingly, an official identity is prioritised to other social categories, which highlights the importance of ‘intersectionality’ in understanding processes of identification. A similar attitude was encountered among all interviewees. Initial reservations about committing cultural infringements arising from gendered ‘positionalities’ were therefore misplaced. Nevertheless, I was met with amazement by interviewees whenever they discovered that I was ignorant of some aspect of the refugee condition that they experienced since being in the UK. This was also the case with male interviewees. I encountered more problems from ethno-cultural, albeit it minimal, than from gendered differences. For example, some interviewees deployed idioms and proverbs from their cultural repertoire for illustrative purposes as this excerpt indicates:

Asylum seekers are like pregnant women expecting birth. Once the child has been successfully delivered, that’s one big joy. But, the start of another problem – how to bring up the child (Sha)

Despite my asylum-seeker status and being a Muslim, it was difficult to understand the culturally embedded pithy sayings. The ‘shifting positionalities’ therefore made me feel sometimes like what Brent (2009: 144) described as an ‘outsider within’. I had to connect constantly with the different changing ‘social worlds’ and cultural identities as I moved across the different personal identities, locations, experiences and emotions of interviewees (Brent 2009). This is a reminder that cultural identities are nuanced and ‘imagined’ and can be better understood through concepts of ‘intersectionality’ and ‘translocational positionality’. It would caution against the ascription of collective cultural identities to groups that have been designated with legal categories such as asylum seekers/refugees by policymakers. ‘Shifting positionalities’ emanating from cultural differences were resolved by seeking clarifications from interviewees. In a few cases, I tried to connect with the emotional boundaries by sharing my own experiences with interviewees, which would convey a feeling of empathy. The fluctuations in locations or ‘positionalities’, between being an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, is also a reminder of the need to pay attention to reflexivity in mitigating ‘distortions’ during knowledge production.

There was another significant observation that was a setback to being an ‘insider’, what I would describe as interviewees’ ‘latent aversion to participate’ in research. Some interviewees consented to participate in the research even though they were reluctant to do so. Interviewees would therefore cancel an agreed interview via text message at the last minute. It is possible that there were genuine reasons for this last minute cancellation including unforeseen contingencies. However, I discerned a consistent pattern in all six⁹ cancellations; potential interviewees would urge me to send them a text message on my way to an interview venue, only to get a text to cancel the interview within moments of doing so. Seemingly, reasons given for the cancellations such as interviewees having to attend medical and legal appointments could have been made well in advance of our meeting; say a few days or even a day before, rather than an hour or few minutes before our interview session. In addition, interviewees could have informed me of the cancellations during our telephone conversations that I usually made an hour in advance to confirm their attendance. However, my intuitions were later confirmed by two interviewees, who disclosed that many interviewees considered it as “rude and not nice” to do so verbally during our telephone conversation (Marie). This is because interviewees regarded me “as one of them” (Marie). Communicating the cancellation via text at the last minute even though they had ample time to do so was a seemingly courteous way to decline an interview. This suggests that modern technological communication of mobile phone ‘texting’ is resourceful in averting uncomfortable situations in fieldwork. My ‘insider’ status seemingly was responsible for this courtesy and its role in overriding potential interviewees’ volition to express their disinclination to participate in research. Being an ‘insider’, and its attendant engendering of potential interviewees’ latent aversion to refuse consent to participate from the outset or at the earliest time of being approached therefore could cause logistical problems. They incurred financial costs of travel and venue hire, as well as wastage of time in organising interviews. I avoided the ‘latent aversion’ phenomenon by resorting to initiating communication via text with interviewees.

Another phenomenon that could affect asylum seekers/refugees’ participation in research was that of non-literacy. Some, albeit only one in this research, asylum seekers/refugees could be unable to read and write not only in English, but also in any language including their mother tongue. Others could be only literate in languages other than English. Recruiting by flyers, as

⁹ All six never participated as interviewees.

I did, could therefore, be problematic. I learned from the only non-literate interviewee that many other asylum seekers/refugees did not know about my research because they could not read the flyers advertising it. She later informed me that many were inclined to participate after learning about her participation in the interviews. She learned of the research from a neighbour. It can therefore be hypothesised that even though some asylum seekers/refugees might be unable to read and write English, they would have been inclined or empowered to participate in the research. This would imply that the procedure of accessing interviewees by flyer adverts or letters could be a hindrance to the recruitment process, and is likely to exclude non-literate asylum seekers/refugees.

Interviewees' saw the interview process as an opportunity to exercise a 'voice' that they said media elites denied them. All 23 showed a willingness to participate in my research, and displayed an enthusiasm to talk about their experiences that were mainly harrowing. Anonymity was important to nine interviewees, and they agreed for pseudonyms to be used instead of their real names. However, the majority (14) including Muslim asylum seekers/refugees of both genders waived their right to anonymity. I opted for the safer option of using pseudonyms simply because, as others argued, the burden of erring on the side of caution outweighed the risks of exposing them to any reprisals or harm given the nature of the content of their views (Crow *et al.* 2006). Interviewees said they had nothing to hide and they wanted their views to be heard by policymakers with the hope that their concerns were addressed accordingly. Some, as theorists have suggested, said it would also give credibility and 'validity' to the research as it is their authentic and real experience (see Corden and Sainsbury 2006). It illustrated empowerment to exercise a 'voice' or opinion, which they claimed media elites have prevented them from doing or failed to reflect in the asylum coverage. This finding is significant to a research on belonging and identity of this type. This is because participating in the research, and subjecting themselves to talking about areas of sensitivity was interviewees' way to counter policy and media narratives that portrayed them as incapable of 'responsible' citizenship (see *Chapters 2 & 7*). Interviewees perceived it as a moral duty to participate in research that they perceived would inform policymaking and service delivery, and to "improve things for themselves and others" (Vesey). *Chapters 2, 7 & 8* highlight that policies and media narratives consider these actions to be crucial for orientating towards feelings of belonging to the UK, Scotland and their neighbourhoods. They are also considered as British values that aspiring British citizens should aspire to. The interview was

also an opportunity for contesting negative depictions of their identities and therefore suggests a process of ‘disidentification’. This is because interviewees said media narratives have rendered their individual identities anonymous either by collectivising or “lumping together” their diverse national and cultural identities or by ascribing pejorative identities to them (see *Chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8*). A willingness to participate might also be attributable to claims making for their rights to belong and cultural recognition, which many interviewees said had been missing in media coverage of asylum (see *Chapters 5, 6 & 8*). This could be interpreted to constitute a ‘politics of protest’ of their marginality and suggests that belonging to a British cultural and national imaginary is aspirational. Claims of being rendered anonymous in media stories, suggests that interviewees evoked identities in response to specific social circumstances, which constitute a process of identification.

These comments showed that the commonplace methodological principle of preserving anonymity, inasmuch as it is intended to safeguard the safety and confidentiality of research participants and comply with research ethics, should be treated cautiously. It might not always be desirable for some interviewees. It ran the risk of being perceived by interviewees as disempowering and “patronising” (Boyce) and constitutes identity-theft that interviewees associated with parts of news media. In the end, the use of pseudonyms was successful negotiated on the basis that interviewees agreed for me to use my discretion.

Nonetheless, I discerned a self-serving dynamic in participating in research; some interviewees considered participation as a marker of being a good citizen (see *Chapter 5*). Two interviewees asked me to provide character references and citing their participation in the research as a positive contribution. It is a reminder that some interviewees might have ‘unrealistic expectations’ of the research and researcher’s power to influence asylum decisions in their favour (Mackenzie *et al.*, 2007: 303). Although I wrote the references highlighting the significance of their participation in the research, I made it clear to interviewees that my references might not yield the desired effect. In this case participation might imply a logical response to government policy that predicated access to British citizenship or naturalisation upon migrants’ demonstration of ‘good conduct’ and British values, issues discussed in *Chapters 2 & 7*.

Some interviewees asked for information relating to service provision, legal advice and general words of advice. Although I had some of this on hand, and instantaneously provided this to them, at times I had to defer my advice or assistance to a later time when I was able to gather such information. I tried as much as possible to give them contact details of agencies in their area. Some agreed for me to pass on their contact details to service providers. At times, I provided information that interviewees did not know about. On one occasion, a female asylum seeker interviewee with two children was not aware that she might benefit from the 'legal case review'. I brought it to her attention, and later learned that she qualified under this scheme. One should therefore expect that in researching marginalised communities that were often isolated from social networks, the researcher might be a lifeline for interviewees in helping them to access service delivery that could bring positive change to them. Like Turton (1996), I saw social science research as seizing opportunities for alleviating others' suffering where possible, while mindful of the imperative to uphold ethical standards of research. As Mackenzie et al (2007: 316) observed it was ethical to provide help to interviewees who were in need without compromising 'objectivity'. In fact, it contributed to trust building that was imperative for researching marginalised communities (Mackenzie *et al.* 2007).

In summary, therefore, the interview process could provide vital clues to inform the research topics. In this study, it was an avenue for interviewees' claims making for citizenship rights and responsibilities. These include a right to exercise their voice and individual cultural, social and national identities, and to express their aspirations and feelings of belonging and identification with British values. My relationship with interviewees during interviews was one of 'shifting positionalities', which revealed the importance of paying attention to the multiple locations and contexts of narrating and 'imagining' identities (Anthias 2008; Hopkins 2007). The 'insider' status offers opportunities for understanding the ways research participants negotiate, manage and contest identities.

3.3 The Media Monitoring

Any media analysis is confronted by the methodological problem of choosing timelines. This was the case for this study concerning two questions: Why focus on 2007/08 and not the preceding decade or the 1990s? And, how can one justify the monitoring over a six-month period in relation to conducting the interviews? As stated in *Section 3.1*, this study is not trying to replicate a full-scale media analysis. Following Bowes et al (2009: 31; see also Barclay *et al.* 2003), it is a small-scale monitoring of selected UK newspapers to provide the context of asylum reporting at the time of interviews. As explained above and in *Chapter 1*, there has been less empirical analysis of Scotland based asylum seekers/refugees' experiences of UK newspapers' coverage of asylum and how these intersect with citizenship processes (see for instance Wilson 2004; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Buchanan and Grillo 2003; ICAR 2004; Finney 2005; Smart et al. 2007). It has been noted that, except for Barclay et al (2003), much of Scotland-based studies including Mollard (2001) and Wilson (2004) that have analysed issues of media reporting of asylum tell us little about asylum seekers/refugees' own perspectives of the coverage. Stewart and Mulvey's study (2010) of asylum seekers/refugees' understandings of belonging and identity did not explore with asylum seekers/refugees how media-based issues are related to these processes. Moreover, the research conducted in the 1990s reviewed in *Chapter 2* also overlooked asylum seekers/refugees' interpretations of UK newspapers' coverage of asylum. It was therefore assumed that more needs to be learned about asylum seekers/refugees' perspectives of media messages, an analysis that is made possible through *Research Questions 2 & 3*. In this regard, the media monitoring was intended to provide a flavour of the type of coverage that asylum seekers/refugees would have likely consumed and to undertake an assessment of media content with reference to interviewees' comments. These include exploring whether or not interviewees' perceptions of media constructions of asylum seekers/refugees are reflected in UK newspapers. The monitoring was also to inform consideration of the assumption that feelings of belonging and identity among asylum seekers/refugees were related to perceptions of media coverage. It was also assumed that media coverage of asylum has outcomes and would evoke responses relating to identity processes in interviewees.

Given these assumptions and research aims, it was justified for the media monitoring and analysis to be concurrently undertaken with interviews rather than focus on the 1990s. Firstly, the monitoring was done alongside the initial stages of fieldwork to enable familiarity with

media stories at the time of interviews. The assumption was that interviewees would have likely consumed media content around this period that would facilitate easier recall and discussions around asylum stories. The scholarly consensus was that while the 1990s witnessed the rise in asylum applications, these dramatically peaked in the early 2000s that culminated in the dispersal of large numbers of asylum seekers/refugees from England into Scotland (Smart *et al.* 2007:24; Wilson 2004; Barclay *et al.* 2003: 7). For example, save for one interviewee (Alberto), all interviewees sought asylum in the UK in the 2000s and have since been residing in Scotland. It was therefore appropriate to focus on interviewees' period of residency here instead of the 1990s, when they were yet to encounter UK news media asylum stories. It was also assumed that interviewees would have been more easily exposed to or had consumed media asylum stories that would have implications for their feelings of belonging to and identification with Scotland and the UK.

Secondly, as already stated, my work was not intended to replicate a full-scale study. However, as is the case with any empirical study, it offers an opportunity to complement and build on previous studies. Focussing on 2007/08 provided an opportunity to explore the continuities or divergences in the UK newspapers reporting of the asylum issue. *Chapter 6* will reveal that focussing on the 2007/08 period provided an incidental opportunity to consider assumptions made in previous studies between 1990 and mid-2000 in ways that contribute to our understanding of asylum reporting. For example, others have hypothesised that by 2005, the "high profile protests at the forced removal of asylum seekers from Scotland have led to more positive media coverage of asylum seekers" (Sim and Bowes 2007: 743). My work explores this hypothesis by seeking to identify if this coverage represents a departure from media hostility in favour of a positive coverage.

Thirdly, during the monitoring, recent asylum news clips were selected that could be shown to interviewees to trigger discussions, particularly in cases where interviewees had not read such stories. It is for a similar reason that the media monitoring only focussed on the press. In addition, time and financial constraints made it difficult to monitor TV and radio broadcasts, as well as it being arduous to deploy TV and radio asylum story clips during fieldwork.

It should be noted that the media monitoring did not include 'a before and after' perspective, nor did it investigate whether media depictions of asylum seekers/refugees are the same or

different before and after certain policy announcements. To do so, would have required a different research design, including a different set of research objectives and research questions. For instance, it would have required the selection of two different time frames with a view to assess their impact on interviewees. This could have been susceptible to time constraints and the limitation associated with comparing results of two time frames: running the risk that “any period would be characterised by a unique combination of events” (Smart *et al.* 2007: 46), which one could not control for. The main focus of this research, it could be recalled and as spelt out above (*Section 3.1*) and in *Chapters 1 & 2*, is on asylum seekers/refugees’ perceptions and experiences of belonging and identity and the importance of news coverage of asylum during their residency in the UK. While the relations between media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees and policy changes are worthy of empirical investigation, this research and its design focuses on investigating ‘perceptions’ and ‘relations’, and not about asylum policy *per se*. The monitoring period was therefore not chosen to coincide with any specific event, be it policy formulation or other asylum related incident other than reasons already stated. The received wisdom was that the contentious nature of the asylum issue lends itself to newsworthiness as previous research in the 1990/mid-2000s have discovered (see Kaye 1998, 2001; Statham 1999, 2002; Wilson 2004: 5; Barclay *et al.* 2003), and would always be reported, as was the case during the monitoring period. For example, on average, there were five asylum stories per week in the newspapers monitored, and as *Table 1* (see Appendix 4) shows, there were twenty-two news events, with December 2007 showing the largest concentration during the monitoring period. The news events are grouped on a monthly basis. News event here refers to an issue or activity that has enough political significance and implications for asylum-seeking migrants, relating to policies, protests, legality and interventions, to warrant media coverage. Sometimes some newspapers featured more than one article on the same issue on the same day. For example, the ‘legacy case review’ policy generated three articles in just a single day in *the Sunday Herald* of October 7, 2007 and two articles in *the Daily Mail* of December 18, 2007. Other key events including rioting by asylum seeker detainees were widely reported in the newspapers analysed as related to some policy issues, particularly the ‘legacy case review’ and the ‘voluntary assisted return’. Such articles were included in the analysis. It would have therefore been difficult to demonstrate a relationship between the timing of policies and asylum coverage because, as Koser and Lutz (2001: 10) have argued, policies to control

asylum-seeking migration are ambiguously employed out of political, ideological and economic imperative.

As was anticipated, all interviewees referred to some of the above issues during the interviews. There was no need, therefore, to prompt interviewees with news clips, as initially planned. Apparently, and demonstrated in the 1990s studies, the occurrence and reporting of policy changes during the monitoring period, and inherent newsworthiness, provided journalists the opportunity to frame their depictions of asylum seekers/refugees (see Clark and Campbell 2000: 42; Kaye 1998). However, as others have cautioned, one must entertain the possibility that there are other motives and that the corresponding relationship between policymaking and increase in asylum figures might not be the only explanation for media's negative stories (Clark and Campbell 2000: 42). In this respect, attempts have been made, as far as is necessary in *Chapter 6* (see 6.2), to analyse these discursive representations of asylum seekers/refugees. This will contribute knowledge on the intersection between media reporting of policy and its stance on socio-political issues. *Chapter 5* (see 5.1), will explore some possible explanations, including those of interviewees, for this pattern of coverage, as a means of suggesting a kind of media's response to policy changes. This highlights the unpredictable nature of news reporting and causes the analysis to be led by the emerging categories.

3.3.1 The Selection of Newspapers

Against this background, seventeen newspapers were monitored and included Scottish and London tabloids and broadsheets already outlined in *Chapter 1: The Express, The Sunday Express, The Daily Mail, The Sunday Mail, The Mirror, The Sunday Mirror, The Sun, The Daily Record, The Daily Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph, The Guardian, The Herald, The Sunday Herald, The Scotsman, Scotland on Sunday, The Evening News and The Evening Times*. These newspapers were selected to reflect the three broad genres of broadsheets, tabloids and local press. *The Evening News* and *The Evening Times* were categorised as 'local indigenous' newspapers because they have a geographical circulation in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively. They were selected because they were the two

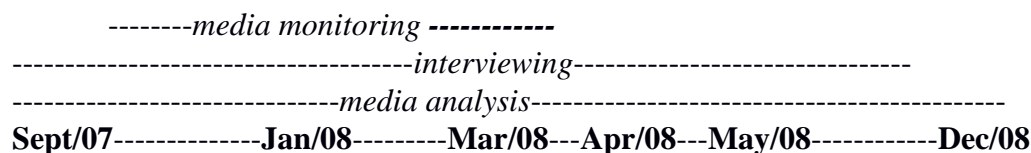
dominant newspapers¹⁰ circulating in these areas, and therefore more likely to be read by asylum seekers/refugees. Newspapers were also selected to reflect the left-right political leanings and ideological stance on immigration, particularly asylum-seeking migration (Leudar *et al.* 2008: 216). *The Times*, *Sunday Times*, *the News of the World* and *the Metro* though read by some interviewees, were not included in the media monitoring for a number of reasons. *The Metro* was not readily accessible by Lexis-Nexis and Factiva. *The Times*, *Sunday Times*, *the News of the World* were not included due to the inclusion of others, such as *the Daily Telegraph*, *the Mail* and *the Sun* that have been widely perceived as anti-asylum and anti-immigration newspapers as well as for sharing a right-wing editorial stance (Grillo and Wengraf 2002: 4; White 2004; Coffin and O'Halloran 2004). It was for a similar reason that *the Independent* and *the Observer* were not selected ahead of *the Guardian*. These newspapers are traditionally considered to be pro-immigration. In addition, the monitoring was a small scale study that was intended to provide a context at the time of interviews and to provide a flavour of the type of coverage that interviewees would have likely interacted with. However, the monitoring ended up revealing unexpected, yet interesting findings that were worth highlighting. It was therefore assumed that there would not be significant difference in the coverage among newspapers with similar ideological leanings. Indeed, the review of asylum reporting between 1990 and mid-2000 renders this assumption as plausible.

The newspaper monitoring was done on a daily basis, electronically and manually. For instance, when an asylum story was viewed on TV, or seen on newspapers or heard over radio, this was followed up and downloaded from the internet's Lexis-Nexis and Factiva databases. Similarly, any news story seen on the internet is followed up in newspapers. However, the daily monitoring was complemented by checking the Lexis-Nexis and Factiva databases on a few occasions where monitoring was missed due to unforeseen contingency, for example during illness and the Christmas period. This is to ensure that some stories were not omitted. Out of expediency, the Lexis-Nexis and Factiva databases were therefore used to access and download all newspapers. As already mentioned, the shortcoming of this strategy is that *the Metro* newspaper was omitted from the monitoring. Another limitation to using web-based sites was that images or photographs could not be included in the monitoring.

10 Other newspapers such as *The Daily Record* may be dominant in Glasgow. However, they have Scotland-wide circulation, and therefore not considered as local.

The articles were accessed by using a keyword search for: ‘asylum’, ‘asylum seeker’, ‘refugee’, ‘citizen’ and ‘citizenship’. Articles generated by keying in ‘citizen’ and ‘citizenship’ were reviewed to ascertain if they were related to asylum-seeking migration. Relevant articles were retained, and the rest discarded. Below is a timeline showing how the media monitoring, which included the identification and selection of articles, the media analysis and data gathering or interviews overlap. ‘Articles’ include news reports, features, opinion pieces and letters. As *Graph 1* shows, the monitoring began on 20th September 2007 and ended on 10th March 2008. Interviews were from November 2007 to December 2008. The analyses of both media and interview data overlap each other.

Graph 1. Timeline of Media Research & Fieldwork



3.3.2 The Media Analysis

Based on the rationale for the media monitoring discussed above, one hundred and six articles were analysed. Twenty-five articles in the broadsheets, eighty-one in tabloids, and fifteen of which were in local indigenous newspapers, with *the Evening Times* accounting for thirteen of these. The high occurrence of asylum stories in *the Evening Times* could be attributed to the fact that it draws most of its readership from Glasgow, a city hosting the largest number of dispersed asylum seekers/refugees. In contrast, there were very few asylum stories in *the Evening News*, which might be due to the low priority it gives to asylum seekers. Ninety-one of the articles were news reports, seven were opinion pieces, five were features and three were letters. Two out of the five features were in *the Daily Telegraph*, and one from *the Herald* and two in *the Guardian*. Of the seven opinion pieces, four came from *the Daily Mail* and one each from *the Daily Express*, *the Sun* and *the Sunday Telegraph*. The three letters were from *the Sun*, *the Herald* and *the Guardian*. Overall, *the Daily Mail* accounted for the highest number of anti-asylum stories, affirming studies of the 1990s (Kaye 1998, 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000). The inclusion of letters and opinion pieces was justified because, though not written by the newspapers’ journalists, they carry in their

content representations of asylum seekers/refugees. In addition, scholarly consensus was that letter writers are likely to mirror the ideological stance of newspapers (Wilson 2004: 19).

The articles were individually subjected to a systematic manual content analysis to identify key trends in asylum reportage. Any item (article), which included the words ‘asylum’, ‘asylum seeker’, ‘refugee’, ‘citizens’ or ‘citizenship’ was coded. In addition, items were coded for themes or focus of the story, labels used to refer to ‘asylum seekers’, refugees, or ‘citizens’. They were also coded for sources and statistics or numbers cited either directly or indirectly, and for literal and metaphorical language used to describe asylum seekers/refugees. In addition, the themes of the articles were determined by recording the words or phrases used and issues or subject matter reported. The frequency of the occurrence of the issues was then grouped into sub-themes, which in turn were coded to form a main theme or focus of the article. The article’s title was not in itself considered a sufficient measure to determine themes, although it was used as a guide in this process (Smart *et al.* 2007). This was to guard against any cases where the focus or theme of the article did not reflect the headline. As *Chapter 6* will show, this mismatch between article headline and main body of story has characterised media’s coverage of the asylum issue.

The following data categories were used:

1. Themes. Information was sought about the subject and focus of an article such as criminality/deportation/amnesty of, and children asylum seekers/refugees, policy failure or success and financial cost of the asylum system.
2. Language: Identification of labels/words/phrases used to describe asylum seekers/refugees. Assessing the tone of the language to ascertain whether it is asylum friendly, neutral or anti-asylum. Information on the context of usage and what such language would likely signify to readers: The questions to determine this are: Is the label/phrase such as ‘illegals’, ‘bogus refugee’ or ‘asylum claimant’ used in a pejorative/neutral/positive connotation? Is it hostile or non-hostile to asylum seekers/refugees?
3. Nationality, ethnicity and religion. Information about the identity of asylum seekers/refugees as individuals or group, country of origin.
4. Assessing for accuracy of labels or language in accordance with PCC guidelines/UK government policy/The UN Refugee Convention. The main question to elicit the information is: Is the label used accurate/meaningless?

5. Conflation. Information on how asylum seekers/refugees are associated with other political and social issues. In addition, takes into account questions like: is the headline a reflection of the story/sensationalised or does it distort?

6. Information on the type of policy and assessing the newspaper's stance on whether it is achieving or failing to achieve its objectives; or in support/opposition to policy.

7. Information on sources quoted in the article, their political leanings, whether directly/indirectly quoted; asylum seekers/refugees quoted.

8. Information on statistics quoted in the article: the source/types of figures used, financial cost cited, consistency in their use, speculative use of statistics. For simplicity, articles were occasionally, assessed for spurious interpretation of statistics.

Most of the studies that have examined questions about the manner of asylum reporting in the media, particularly Scotland-focussed studies, were more orientated to using content analysis (for instance Mollard 2001; Wilson 2004; Barclay *et al.* 2003). It was considered that a discourse stylistics approach would build on such existing work and add something new to an understanding of media reporting of asylum. This is because the way discursive strategies were used in articles could have an impact on the way the story was received by readers including asylum seekers/refugees, and how it would affect their lives. In addition, it would shed more light on how the preference of language and discursive formations would be a reflection of the newspaper's stance on asylum. In this sense, it would mitigate the risk of deciding and imposing categories on data before the analysis rather allowing these to emerge (Kaye 1998: 180). Content analysis would also make possible the straight forward isolation of themes in a way that is quantifiable, while discourse stylistic analysis would enable the multiple interpretation or meanings of articles and making of inter-textual references (White 2004: 288). Using both approaches therefore would offer a more robust analysis (Kaye 1998).

The discourse stylistics approach entails the following:

1. Identifying the discursive styles of reporting such as the 'us and them' binary, metaphors, framing, conflation, historical parallelism and metonymy. Metaphors were generated by systematically examining the figurative expressions and descriptions embedded in headlines, labels, phrases and statistics. This process was guided by the question: Does the use of a word/phrase convey or evoke any image? and if so, what kind of image is it? The coding system highlights the words or labels (e.g. 'soft-touch', 'illegals') and phrases (e.g. 'magnet for asylum seekers', 'disappearing off the radar') that were then counted, and the most frequently occurring were included in the analysis.

2. Examining, interpreting and explaining of language used, such as metaphors, in relation to: the choice and use of certain words/labels/phrases/metaphorical language, and the context of such usage. For example, *Chapter 6* will demonstrate that the use of specific language in certain newspapers such as ‘scroungers’ and ‘illegals’ (and also evident in interviewees accounts of *Chapter 5*) was key to framing asylum as threat to British cultural homogeneity, which might account for newspapers’ editorial stance on asylum.

3. Comparing and contrasting of articles about the same issue in relation to the analytical categories identified. It also provides alternative ways in which viewpoints of newspapers could be expressed to achieve neutral or alternative representations (Wilson 2004). For example, *Chapter 6* will demonstrate that the reporting of government policies vary across newspapers and that the anti-asylum press deploys asylum-friendly metaphors in place of negative ones to depict children asylum seekers.

The main question that guided the coding was: what effect the use of a word, phrase or discursive technique (metaphors, ‘us and them’, conflation) may have on readers (including asylum seekers/refugees), and how could this shed light on objectives of the writer (journalist)? The following data categories guided this process:

1. Information on the ‘us and them’ binary.
2. Information on metaphorical labels/phrases relating to asylum seekers/refugees such as being violent or threat/undeserving/a burden on the taxpayer/desperate asylum seekers/refugees; policy reporting, such as UK as a ‘soft touch’/‘chaotic asylum system’; metaphorical representations of numbers/statistics.
3. Information on metonymy such as ‘illegals’.
4. Information on historical parallelism.

The data categories for both the content and discourse analysis are devised based upon the views of interviewees discussed in *Chapter 5*, knowledge of asylum and theoretical perspectives on thematic representation and labelling inspired by previous work (Smart *et al.* 2007; ICAR 2004; Wilson 2004; Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Kaye 2001). Interviewees’ views generated from interview data were included to enable them to be tested with a view to assess whether they converge or diverge from media and theoretical accounts.

Throughout this process and for consistency, a line-by-line reading of an article was undertaken to identify terms, phrases and other discursive techniques that were hostile and non-hostile to asylum seekers/refugees. Nonetheless, both the content and discourse analysis and consistent with the research design approach allows flexibility for categories to emerge and to identify trends in the asylum reportage. For example, the themes of children asylum

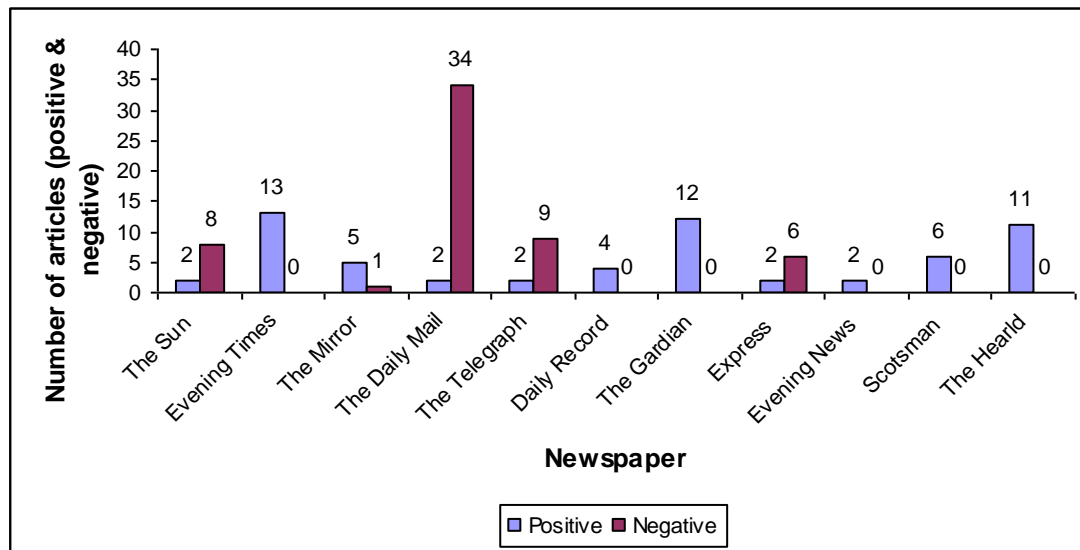
seekers, deportation and amnesty; conflation of other aspects of government policy with that of asylum; metaphorical terms and phrases though not widely occurring (e.g. ‘Glasgow’ own United Nations’; ‘asylum seekers live cheek by jowl’; ‘government largess’) were included. This is because they were evocative in representing asylum seekers/refugees and have been under-explored. In addition, as discussed in the literature review, such manner of reporting, particularly metaphorical depictions and the ‘us and them’ rhetoric, has been widely recognised to be a vehicle for ‘othering’ groups in society. This has a lasting impression on readers that could potentially influence the way they construct asylum seekers or ethnic minorities’ national identities (Smart *et al.* 2007: 50; Erjavec 2003; also van Dijk 1998; Hall 1978).

The analysis discerned two broad slants in UK newspapers’ asylum reporting, namely, an anti-asylum press and an asylum-friendly press. The anti-asylum press here refers to ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’, namely, *the Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, *the Daily Mail*, *the Mail on Sunday*, *the Sun*, *the Daily Telegraph* and *the Sunday Telegraph*. The asylum-friendly press consists mainly of Scottish newspapers. These are of ‘Local indigenous’ titles, namely *the Evening Times* and *the Evening News*; and ‘Indigenous’ titles, namely, *the Herald*, *the Sunday Herald*, *the Scotsman*, *Scotland on Sunday* and *the Daily Record*. The asylum-friendly press also include some ‘Fleet Street’ titles, namely *the Guardian*, *the Mirror* and *the Sunday Mirror*. The asylum-friendly and anti-asylum categorisation of the newspapers was based on the scope and degree of the bias and pejorative pattern of the coverage. In this respect, the asylum-friendly press coverage was distinctly innocuous and relatively non-inflammatory and balanced in its coverage. As *Graph 2* illustrates, the majority of the articles that were in the asylum-friendly press were favourable to asylum seekers/refugees.

In contrast, the anti-asylum press was predominantly hostile in its coverage of the asylum issue. Sixty out of sixty-eight articles in the anti-asylum press were unfavourable to asylum, which suggests a predominance of negative over a positive coverage. The eight articles that were favourable to asylum seekers/refugees were about children asylum seekers, a terminally ill woman, a male homosexual, and a male footballer in articles relating to asylum. As others have argued, the newspapers listed here that constituted the anti-asylum press are normally associated with right-wing views and are anti-immigration and anti-asylum (White 2004;

Kaye 2001). *The Herald, the Guardian, the Mirror and the Daily Record* were widely perceived as belonging to the left of British politics.

Graph 2: Asylum in the Newspapers –
[Include Sunday Editions]



In all, as listed in *Table 1* below, six main themes were adduced from the analysis, namely; criminality, deportation, policy failure, asylum ‘amnesty’, financial cost of asylum and children asylum seekers. Save for the latter, all these themes were found to occur in media reporting of asylum in the 1990’s (Kaye 1998, 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000). The analysis also identified five major discursive styles in which the themes were embedded and that were crucial to constructing forms of belonging to and identity with an ‘imagined’ community: ‘metaphoric language’, ‘statistical extrapolation’, ‘conflation’, ‘policy-political reporting’ and ‘sensational reporting’. By ‘metaphoric language’, is meant the labels or terminologies, phraseology that journalists used to describe or relate to asylum seekers/refugees in ways that evoke an image in the reader’s mind. ‘Statistical extrapolation’ refers to how they used statistics, numbers or figures to represent the asylum issue. ‘Conflation’ refers to how the asylum issue was associated with or mixed together with other political and social issues including that of economic immigration. ‘Conflation’ also incorporates the practice of using asylum seekers/refugees as a scapegoat for other social issues, including criminality and terrorism. ‘Policy-political reporting’ is used to refer to the framing of asylum

seekers/refugees and the asylum debate purely as a political issue rather than a humanitarian one (Buchanan and Grillo 2003). Through ‘policy-political reporting’ journalists accorded prominence to depicting asylum seekers/refugees as opportunistic and their predicament as ‘self-induced, rather than as ‘victims’ of injustices and persecution. ‘Sensational reporting’ refers to the exaggerated and unbalanced portrayal of asylum seekers/refugees that was mostly realised through the combined use of the above four discursive styles.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter addressed key areas of research design that facilitated the generating and analysing of data. Attention was drawn to my conceptual framework; to the choices made and process of designing research questions; to the parameters of the study relating to profile and the recruiting of interviewees; and to the research locale. In addition, the way my relationship with interviewees could influence data collection, knowledge production and reflexivity was discussed. The way the interviews compliment the media monitoring data that enabled the analysis of the media data with reference to the perceptions and beliefs of interviewees (Barclay *et al.* 2003: 18) was explained. It has also been explained that the media monitoring was small scale, intended to contextualise interviewees’ comments and to enable the identifying of unexpected but interesting findings to develop understanding on the issues being investigated. These include interviewees’ perceptions of differences in Scottish and London newspapers’ coverage of asylum seekers/refugees.

In addition, it has been noted that the research design afforded me the opportunity to respond to emerging areas of concern and interest to interviewees. The advantages and shortcomings of my ‘insider’ status would contribute to knowledge that researching marginalised groups is fraught with difficulties. This will highlight the benefit of using ‘intersectionality’ and ‘translocational positionality’ analytical approach to understanding issues of identity.

Chapter 4

BELONGING & IDENTITY: formations & facilitators

The introduction, methodology and literature review chapters have noted that the rationale of this study was that more needs to be learned about the dynamics behind the belonging and identity formations of asylum seekers/refugees as a particular group of marginalised migrants in the UK. For example, studies undertaken among asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland by Stewart and Mulvey (2010), Livesley (2008) and Fenton (2007) made interesting findings. These include the ways in which asylum seekers/refugees' sense of safety or security, parenthood, government policies, having residency and legal status, volunteering and integration intersect with their feeling of belonging and identity to the UK, Scotland and England. In addition, these studies found that asylum seekers/refugees among other migrants residing in Scotland had a stronger loyalty to or could easily identify with Scotland and feel Scottish rather than a loyalty of Englishness or Britishness among those residing in England. However, while these studies explored attitudes and feelings among asylum seekers/refugees about Scotland and 'Scottishness' (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 3; Livesley 2008: 22; Fenton 2007), they overlooked the way asylum seekers/refugees, particularly Muslims prioritise 'Scottishness' to that of 'Britishness' or 'Englishness' in the multinational UK state. In addition, most of these studies and those of others that have investigated identity processes among the broader population of Scotland-based migrants other than asylum seekers/refugees have overlooked the UK's cultural and ethnic diversity in orientations to Britishness and Scottishness (see for instance, Hopkins 2007b). My work will complement these studies in developing an understanding on migrants' forms of national belonging and national identity forming in Scotland.

It will therefore make significant contributions to our understanding of the meanings and experiences of membership among marginalised group of ethnic minority migrants in the contemporary state in three areas. Firstly, it will suggest a linkage between the public's attitude and behaviour towards asylum seekers/refugees and its impact on asylum seekers/refugees' belonging and identity forming that was identified in the literature. For instance, and as later explored in the next chapter, feeling not welcomed, stigmatised and

isolated; social exclusion; and racism influence asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of belonging and identification with a place (Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008; Ager and Strang 2008; Heath and Robert 2008; Sales 2007: 5; Tyler 2006: 199; Jones 2006; Marvin and Ingle 1999). Secondly, and as discussed in the literature review and in *Chapters 2 & 3*, media and political discourses depict asylum seekers/refugees, particularly Muslims as the cultural 'other', incapable of acquiring a British cultural and national identity (Levesley 2008: 4). Exploring these areas will therefore offer opportunities to understand the views of Muslim migrants on their belonging and identity formations, and to assess how interviewees' views depart from or converge with theoretical and media accounts. Thirdly, this study makes a significant finding that while the decline of Britishness and the resurgence of Scottishness among Scots is attributed to the British colonial past (Morrell 2008: 33), for some migrants such as asylum seekers/refugees it might be a facilitator. Fourthly, my analysis will provide methodological contributions to researching issues of identity among migrants in the multicultural state. It will reveal that despite 'dislocations' from social relations and homelands, and the public hostility, migrants continue to have ethnic and cultural ties beyond territorial borders. The analysis will highlight the significance of employing ideas of 'intersectionality' and 'translocational positionality' in exploring belonging and identity formations among migrants.

The interview data was analysed to include:

- What are interviewees' feelings of belonging to and identity with the UK, Scotland, England and their local community and homelands?
- What national identity would they prioritise in relation to Scottish, English or UK?
- The rationale for their belonging and identity preferences and formations.
- Factors that contribute or hinder their belonging and identity formations.
- The relationship between belonging and identity formation and aspirations to be UK citizens.
- Comparing interviewees' perceptions of belonging and identity to the UK, Scotland and England among Muslim and non-Muslim.

The analysis concentrated on exploring the above topics because they will help answer one of the study's research questions, namely: *What are asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity?*

This chapter will now discuss two main areas relating to interviewees' orientations to national belonging and national identity. The first section will discuss national belonging and national identity relating to the homeland from which asylum seekers/refugees fled, the UK as host country and its constituent nation of Scotland. It will also discuss other manifestations of belonging and identity that are not related to a state or nation. These include the local community or neighbourhood, ethnicity/religion, social class and 'shared values'. Section two will explore the factors that interviewees' perceive to contribute to or hinder their belonging and identity formations. Throughout the analysis, reference will be made to the wider literature and specifically to the work of Stewart and Mulvey (2010) because to date, it is the only Scotland specific research to explore issues of asylum seekers/refugees citizenship, belonging and identity within a devolved Scottish context.

4.1 Formations of National Belonging and National Identity

22 out of the 23 interviewees said they have a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with their homelands from which they fled persecution:

Well because I have a life here, a family here but I still belong there [Somalia].
It is my home, and that is how I feel (Haja)

Well, when you are not from these parts or origin and you become a citizen, you still look back to your original country, and you still have a feeling toward that country [Iraq], because of your ancestors, because of your history (Sha)

Interviewees refer to places of 'origin', 'residency', 'ancestry' and where they call 'home' to talk about their feelings of belonging to homelands. This might imply that interviewees use these vocabularies to express nostalgia or a longing and yearning to construct their identities in relation to homelands. Feeling of belonging is out of gratitude to a place they have known throughout their lives. The reference to place identity therefore means an emotional and physical form of belonging.

All (23) interviewees said they did not have any sense of belonging to and identity with England and did not feel or see themselves as 'English'. Only five of the cohort had lived in England before relocating in Scotland, and their response was understandable. However, it should be noted that the reason for asking interviewees if they had any identification with England even though the majority had not lived there was to problematize the use of identity preferences. As Hopkins (2007b) observed previous studies conducted by Saeed (1999) and Hussain and Miller (2002) among Scotland-based migrants have been simplistic in failing to explore the reasons behind their UK territorial identity preferences. My approach was therefore to elicit interviewees' rationale for their choice of British, Scottish and English national identities. Following Hopkins (2007), it will help us explore the vocabularies they use in narrating their trajectories of identification with these national imaginaries.

Interviewees did not express any preference for an English identity. There are various reasons to explain this, which will be evident throughout this and the following chapter. However, one obvious explanation would be that interviewees had little time of residency in England. One person said she had lived in Milton Keynes for a considerable period, but still has no identification with England, for reasons that she could not disclose. The other four, who said they lived in England for a few months before relocating to Scotland, said they had less social and cultural contact with English people and institutions such as the Home Office and Police. Despite the short period of stay, one interviewee said she had no feeling of belonging to England (London) because of her bad experiences while there:

Interviewer: So you feel as belonging to here [Scotland] even before your change of status [from asylum seeker to refugee]?

Interviewee: yes, because of my experience I had in London and the one I have got here. So when I compared the two I feel this is home (Nie)

Interviewer: So you feel a sense of belonging to Scotland and not to London or England?

Interviewee: No, no, and I think it is because of the experience I went through.....Scottish people always make you feel you are part of the society....(Nie)

While it is not clear what bad experience this person had in London, the general view among the cohort was that they never had enough time to "socially interact with the English" (Fiso). In these cases, one cannot expect interviewees to have identification with place they have not

emotionally bonded, lived or interacted with its institutions and peoples. Identification with a place is therefore difficult without physical presence.

Two out of the 23 interviewees also said it did not matter whether they felt ‘Scottish’, ‘English’ or ‘British’. This is because what matters for all of them is a sense of safety and being treated fairly:

No, ...you don’t feel as if you are home, you are comfortable; as if you are at your own home country where you are born, you speak the same language...you are treated fairly (Lima)

In this case state protection and a sense of being treated as fairly as other British citizens is more important than their feeling of belonging and identifying with its ‘nations’. Six including the two who said it is irrelevant whether they identify with these territorial identities, also said they did not have a feeling of national belonging and national identity with any of the constituent nations: UK, England or Scotland:

I would like to say I am British and these are the reasons. ...The British people have got a lot of people who are not aware of my country. Not aware of other countries outside of the UK...People think that as soon as you say you come from my country or another African country, or Asian country, you are poor. You are destitute. And therefore you can lose your respect. And therefore do not want to be identified as such...(Leo)

This person was comfortable to affiliate with Britishness in order to conceal his homeland national identity from locals, suggesting the importance of interviewees’ self-preservation and safety to identity forming. However, the sense of self-preservation is perceived to emanate from public constructions of refugees in liminal identities, highlighting the importance of self-perception of stigma as crucial to identity claims. This issue and its relatedness to the UK media coverage will be further explored in *Chapters 5 & 8*.

Eleven said they have a feeling of belonging to and identification with Scotland. The same interviewees (11), out of the 23, who claimed they have a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with Scotland, also have a national belonging to and national identity with their homelands, complementing Livesley’s finding that most migrants have and would retain their original identity alongside their British or Scottish identities (Livesley 2008: 20). The analysis also adduced that belonging and identity might not always be mutually inclusive, or

are the same thing. In this case, it is possible to have a feeling of national belonging to a country or place without subscribing to its national identity, and vice versa. For instance, two interviewees claimed a Scottish national identity and being or feeling Scottish, but also said they did not feel they belong to Scotland. Three others, who claimed to have a feeling of national belonging to Scotland, said that they did not feel 'Scottish' and would not claim a Scottish national identity. This suggests that migrants residing in Scotland might feel Scottish, but not necessarily have a feeling of belonging to Scotland and vice versa:

Well, if you live in the same country and they [public and media] are pointing fingers at you, so, really you feel as if you don't belong. You are really not wanted. It's depressing and I have no sense of belonging to Scotland...Yes, I feel Scottish – although I don't have the accent – but, this is my second home. I don't have plans to go anywhere....I am bringing up my kids here and mostly people have been nice to me though I have suffered racial attacks, but still I can identify with Scotland. Being a Malawian, Scotland has always had been close friend of Malawi for many years, so there is a sense of history (Boyce)

I live for the day. Why I live that day I am a Scottish man. I do my best to be like Scottish people. Try to integrate myself with them. Try to understand them and make them understand me as well.but still regarding your identity, you are going to be in limbo...a refugee...(Sha).

Both interviewees claimed to be Scottish, but for different reasons do not have a feeling of belonging to Scotland. For Boyce, to feel Scottish is to identify with Scotland and this is because she had started a family here and because of the historical connections between Scotland as host country and Malawi as her country of origin. Sha said he is a 'Scottish man', yet did not consider this to be his national identity. In both cases, a feeling of belonging may not overlap with identity. This is because of the way citizens think and behave towards Boyce, while for Sha he attributed his lack of belonging to the uncertainty of his claim and being in limbo. In addition, feeling Scottish might be read as having an affiliation with Scotland, suggesting that interviewees make a distinction between national affiliation and national identity. It might also mean that neither persons had any emotional bond or attachment with Scotland. Individuals can therefore claim a national affiliation or national identity of a country without having any emotional attachment to it. Moreover, having a sense of identification for both interviewees is aspirational. In this regard, for Boyce she implied that this would happen when she acquired the Scottish accent or experienced friendly public attitudes. In the case of Sha, this will happen upon being granted refugee status.

Four interviewees said they feel British, with three of these saying they have a feeling of belonging to the UK. The other (one) said although she felt British, she did not have a feeling of belonging to the UK. When asked why, she said:

I feel British because I can stay here, go and stay in Wales and I can stay in England
(Nie)

This person's claim to feel British is because as someone with refugee status (IRL), she can go and live in any of the constituent nations of the UK. However, Nie was the one who claimed to have a feeling of belonging to Scotland, and even prioritised Scottish over British identity. This suggests that an individual could have or claim a British identity, but might not have a feeling of belonging to the UK. It also implies that feeling British or having a British national identity does not imply a feeling of belonging to the UK. Feelings of belonging might be to Scotland as a place of residence.

Since this study would like to build on knowledge about ethnic minorities and migrants' preferences of territorial identities within the multilevel nations of the UK, the interviews and the analyses focussed on eliciting pertinent information. Overall, 15 interviewees identified with a Scottish national identity (including the 11 who said they have a feeling of belonging to and an identification with Scotland), nine identified with Britishness and none with Englishness on their own volition. This suggests that for some they can have a feeling of belonging to and identification with Scotland, but not necessarily with a Scottish national identity. Of these, eight Muslims claimed both a Scottish national identity and a British one. However, when asked which of the national identities of the UK: British, English and Scottish they would prefer or would like to claim, 21 out of 23 identified themselves as 'Scottish' other than 'British' or 'English'. 'British' was their second preference after 'Scottish', with 15 saying they would also chose a 'British' national identity. One way to explain this is that people felt they have to choose among some national identities that they may not need to.

In particular, the eight Muslim interviewees of the cohort were asked to prioritise their national identity in relation to the UK territories and whether it is possible to be Muslim and

‘British’, ‘English’ or ‘Scottish’. All said they could be Muslim and British or Scottish, and none claimed an ‘English’ national identity or said they felt ‘English’. One of these said they had lived in England in the 1970’s as a student, but never lived there since coming back to the UK to seek asylum. As already stated, another said she had lived in Milton Keynes for some time. Nonetheless, both said it is possible for them to be Muslim and Scottish or British, but not Muslim English. In addition, all expressed the view that being Muslim is not incompatible to having these territorial national identities. However, there was an inclination among Muslim interviewees to prioritise Scottish-Muslim over a British-Muslim: ‘I am mixed. I am Muslim Scottish, Scottish Muslim’ (Marie). One main reason for being comfortable with these mainstream identities or what is referred to in the literature as ‘hyphenated-identities’ was the interviewee’s self-perception that there is a thriving Muslim population in the UK. The interviewee who said he lived in the UK in the 1970s explained:

Well, there are about, how many million Muslims in the UK? The second religion after Christianity, about 4.5 Million. I don’t know because I can’t remember the exact number. I remember in 1969 in London, there was an Islamic centre with a prayer area in it. Not a mosque, an Islamic centre, but there was a Mosque only in the suburbs of London called Woking built at the end of the 19th Century built by an Indian Muslim Raja. You know a Raja is a wealthy man....Now in London tens of Mosques... (Sha)

The other reasons for interviewees’ ‘hyphenated’ identity formations including parenthood and the media coverage will be explored in the following section and in *Chapter 5* respectively.

Interviewees used linguistic and speech mannerism to demonstrate their ‘Scottishness’ over ‘Britishness’ or ‘Englishness’. ‘Scottish’ linguistic markers included mimicking Scottish accents, particularly what they perceived as a Glaswegian accent; and applying speech mannerisms like the ‘yeah’ in ending sentences and using ‘aye’ instead of ‘yes’, particularly whilst discussing the specific topic of ‘Scottishness’ during interviews. Even Boyce, who was quoted earlier as saying “I feel Scottish”, suggested that the “Scottish accent”, which she said she did not have is crucial for expressing Scottishness. Linguistic and speech mannerisms were evident in other points of the interview session even though interviewees had not yet declared their identity preferences. The other markers of national identity, which incidentally are also facilitators of ‘Scottishness’ will be discussed in the following section. Nonetheless, interviewees’ views suggest that national identities such as ‘Britishness’ or

‘Scottishness’ are both cultural and political identities. The identities are cultural because they are expressed by interviewees through cultural markers such as accents and speech mannerisms and in making links to their religious and ethnic backgrounds (see also Sales 2010; Parekh 2008; Morrell 2008; Goodhart 2006). They are political in the sense that they are constructed and serve as a form of political identification with the nation in the case of Scotland and the nation-state in the case of the UK/Britain without some interviewees necessarily having any feeling of belonging to these nations (Morrell 2008; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17). Interviewees’ preference for a Scottish identity over British reflects the broader population of migrants who claim to feel Scottish first, and British second in Livesley’s study (2008). It also reflect studies by others that accent is a key marker of Scottish identity among British citizens (McCrone and Bechofer 2010).

Similar ‘hyphenated-identities’ (Hopkins 2007b) that are not related to the territorial identities of the UK were also manifested in other ways. In this case, belonging and identity formations might not always be associated to the nation or state, but might be in relation to another place such as region or continent, religio-ethnic, cultural or social entity and a local community or neighbourhood. For instance, some interviewees claimed continental/regional and religio-ethnic identities. These include four interviewees describing themselves as African Muslim, Latin American, Bajunis and African:

I am an African Muslim. We are not really Somalis; we are Bajunis, from the south. Somalis are laid back (Lima)

I belong to Chile as my place of origin. I have to refer to Chile. I feel Chilean, but not only Chilean, I feel Latin American... (Alberto)

I belong to the African community and other groups ...I call myself a Black Scottish (Vesy)

The above suggest that place or geographical locations, race, ethnicity, cultural background and nationality are important identity markers for many migrants. Lima makes a distinction between a national identity marker (Somalis) and an ethnic identity (Bajunis). While implying that both identities are nested under an African identity, she provides a further identity marker (laid back) that distinguishes her ethnic identity from a Somali national one. In this case, she, as did Vesy, framed her identity in relation to others’ ethnic and racial category. It suggests that identities may not always be national, ethnic or cultural markers, but might be a

stereotypical attribute (laid back). It also suggests that ‘othering’ through stereotyping is a natural process of identification.

Others (13) said they have a sense of belonging to and identified with their neighbourhoods or local community in which they resided:

Well, I actually have a sense of belonging to my local community, the greater Pollok area. I feel this is my home and sort of drives me to do what I am doing (Seth).

They [locals] are so nice to me. They are good people. They advise me. One day, I was surprised when they told me that there is a community class there, hey that makes me happy. That makes me feel I am in their midst...(Romi)

These interviewees include all those who said they have a feeling of belonging to Scotland and who expressed or claimed a Scottish national identity. However, only one that said they have a sense of identification with their local community also said they have no sense of national belonging to and national identity with Scotland. Interviewees said having a feeling of belonging to their locality makes them feel as though they belong to Scotland. The 11 out of 13 interviewees that have a feeling of belonging to their locality, also said they feel ‘Scottish’ only, while the other two said they feel both ‘Scottish’ and ‘British’. In this case, for some feeling of belonging to and identity with their locality transmits into a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with Scotland and ‘Scottishness’ other than ‘Britishness’. Seth continued:

Well, I am Cameroonian, and I will always respect that root. But feel Scottish too because of the [local] environment [friendly and welcoming] and the support, which is very vital because without that support, you feel you are not part of that environment [community]...(Seth)

This person’s identification might be out of allegiance or loyalty to both his locality and homeland. It may therefore be a mark of appreciation and not to be seen as ungrateful for the support and friendliness of locals. On the other hand, their place of origin, where they have ‘roots’ and have been for ‘a long time’ should be cherished. This might also be read as having national affiliation with their homeland. The one interviewee mentioned earlier as saying they had no feeling of belonging to their homeland, nor to the UK, Scotland or England also said they did not feel or consider themselves ‘Scottish’, ‘English’ or ‘British’. However, this interviewee said they have a feeling of belonging to and identification with Christianity:

No, I don't. Maybe my sense of belonging probably just to say I am a Christian really...But I don't feel as if I am part of Scotland" (Hael).

When this person was asked if he had any sense of belonging to his locality, he said he did not "feel like belonging to Pollokshaws or Ibrox (Hael).

Other forms of belonging and identity formations among the cohort that are not ascribed to a nation-state or country were also evident. These include: an interviewee that said their belonging and identity is "with humanity" (Sha), another said it is to the "working class" (Alberto), and two ascribed their belonging and identity to Christianity, including Hael who also said it is to a refugee-supporting organisation called UNITY. He gave the following reason:

Yeah, UNITY and other places [community organisations]. Well, because they are people who understand the plight of asylum seekers (Hael).

This interviewee was also the one who claimed he had not received any support from the locality of Pollokshaws and Ibrox where he has lived. Given that interviewee made a distinction between the support from service providers, who might not be local residents and the lack of it from their neighbours, would suggest that for some migrants support from neighbours and feeling welcomed plays a part in influencing feelings of belonging and identity, more of which later.

What conclusions can we draw from interviewees' accounts to tell us about their understandings and experiences of belonging and identity? Broadly speaking, interviewees conceptualise 'belonging' as both a physical and affective or emotional process of citizenship. It has a physical dimension because it is about their presence to a place, safety, security and wellbeing. They used terms and phrases such as 'I belong here', 'I live here' and 'being part of the community' to demonstrate physical presence. On the other hand, they used terms such as 'feel like belonging'; 'have a sense of belonging', 'I feel attached' and 'I have an identification with' a place to denote the affective dimension to their 'belonging'. However, interviewees also deployed these phrases while talking about the concept of 'identity'. In this sense, interviewees drew a linkage between belonging and identity, and considered the two processes as mutually inclusive and interconnected. In this respect, interviewees used both

terms at times interchangeably, either concurrently or separately during the interviews. This was especially when talking about their identity preferences, as explained above. The general view was that feelings of belonging and identity are “aboutforming social attachments or bonds” (Seth). In addition, as others have observed, belonging and identity for some interviewees is self-descriptive and something individuals can perform or choose, echoing normative definitions of the concepts as processes of identification (for example see Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Anthias 2009; Bloemraad 2006; Jenkins 2006). For others these social processes of citizenship might differ, converge or overlap. In this case, having a physical presence might not necessarily imply having a feeling of identification with a place.

Interviewees’ experiences of these interconnections and divergences between belonging and identity at the physical and affective level are therefore contingent upon and in relation to place, time, and their interaction with others and institutions. Belonging and identity formations are therefore nuanced, fluid, transient and complex, a characteristic of migrant communities identified in the literature (see also Pietikainen and Dufva 2006). It also implies that belonging and identity formations cannot only be associated with nations or countries, but coexist in other domains such as area of residence, religion, social class and geographies of regions and continent, echoing Stewart and Mulvey’s (2010) finding among asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. In addition, it suggests that ‘shared values’ and beliefs such as ‘humanity’ provide the locations or ‘dislocations’ from which identity is narrated and ‘imagined’ by some asylum seekers/refugees. The role of social class (working class) and ‘humanity’, albeit expressed by a minority of the cohort, in interviewees’ identity forming suggests that in addition to the ‘nation’, personal values and beliefs are important to understanding issues of identity, as others have observed (see Anthias 2009).

This study also concurs with Hopkin’s observation (among young Muslim men in Scotland) that national and religious identities are not mutually exclusive and that migrants would manifest a transnational network of identities that connects them with their homelands, regions and cultural affiliations (Hopkins 2007b: 68; see also Saeed 1999; Hussain and Miller 2002; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 62). In this case, migrants’ understand identification with a community (national, cultural) in relation to their own context of ethnicity, race, culture and their locations. The host country’s national identities (British, Scottish) are ‘imagined’ and narrated in relation to other identities of race (Black Scottish) and ethnicity (African Muslim).

Interviewees' experiences highlight the importance of using 'translocational positionality' to complement 'intersectionality' to understand issues of identification. This is because these concepts help us to understand interviewees' sense of belonging and identity forming in relation to their locations (neighbourhoods), 'dislocations' from homelands and social relations with locals.

What then are the dynamics behind the ways these belonging and identity formations are experienced, constructed and prioritised by asylum seekers/refugees? This question guided the way the data was analysed in order to understand the factors that facilitate or hinder migrants' orientation to national belonging and national identity in the UK as a multinational state. More significantly, this analysis will help to answer the first research question: ***What are asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to feelings of national belonging and national identity?***

4.2 Factors Affecting National Belonging & National Identity Formations

The analysis adduced the following non-rights based factors to contribute to asylum seekers/refugees belonging and identities:

- Birth & Residency
- Sociability, the Welcome & Cultural Diversity
- Parenthood
- Colonial Ties & Democratic Values

Following Livesley (2008), the impulses for interviewees' belonging and identity formations are referred to here as non-rights based because they are largely contingent upon social interaction at the interpersonal human level and less upon the structural processes in the polity. Being non-rights based means that there are less practical reasons why interviewees said they develop a sense of belonging and identity. They are in contrast to the rights-based or more practical reasons such as access to services and ability to travel abroad for developing a sense of belonging and identity, more of which in *Chapter 7*. In addition, unlike the non-rights, the rights based are the expectations of interviewees of what the state and other vital institutions such as news media can do to influence their belonging and identity. Rights based

factors are therefore largely contingent upon structural processes and direct policy intervention by the state.

4.2.1 Birth and Residency

All interviewees said that birth and residency, or the lack of it, contributed to their sense of national belonging to and national identity with a country. Interviewees referred to their homelands in metaphors such as ‘home’, a place where they have ‘roots’, their ‘place of origin’ and ‘where they grow up’ or were ‘born and bred’. Despite being victims of state persecution, the majority of interviewees said having been born and lived in their homelands for a protracted period had contributed to their feeling of national belonging and national identity to these countries:

Yes, because Pakistan is my home. And when I become a citizen here, I will sometimes go for holidays in Pakistan (Rash)

Oh, yes. Because I was born, bred, lived and have a Zim culture. I have worked all my life there. I have contributed to the country. I’ve helped quite a lot of people there. So that’s where I belong. That’s where my roots are (Fiso)

I would like to call myself a Burundian. So I am not Scottish, British or English. No, I am Burundian (Elli)

Still my heart is in my country. My feeling affects my country. I still remember it, where I grew up before I came here. I am almost 55 years now. For long time I have belong to my country. So I do not feel any belonging [to Scotland/England/UK], but maybe in the future will belong to this country (Taja)

Interviewees deployed the ‘home’, ‘roots’ and ‘born and bred’ metaphors to refer to their feelings of national belonging. This suggests that feelings of belonging for some interviewees are a form of nostalgic sentiment. However, in deploying these vocabularies Fiso made an autobiographical comparison between her past social status in her homeland and current one. The relatively better social status she experienced in her homeland contrasts with the liminal one of being an asylum seeker. She therefore used the contrast in her locations and social positions to evaluate her feeling of belonging to the UK (see McGhee 2012: 712). Rash and Taja also made the point that the country of origin is home, and for Rash even if he were to get British citizenship he would always have an emotional attachment to ‘home’. Nonetheless, these argumentative logics suggest a sense of loyalty to the homeland as place of birth and ancestry, which implies that her meaning of identity focuses on ethnicity. A general

feeling was the longer interviewees stayed in a place, the more social networks and relationships they were likely to form. Taja, for example, anticipated developing an emotional attachment to Scotland in the future, suggesting that belonging is a process. Given that all interviewees are adults, this view is understandable as interviewees said that they have known their homelands ‘all their lives’ and had worked there, but had to flee due to circumstances beyond their control. The dislocations from home evoked nostalgic emotions for these countries. They therefore continued to have emotional attachment and feelings of belonging to their homelands. It is also worth highlighting that when interviewees narrated their feelings of belonging and identity, they did so in relation to UK territorial identities – Scottish, British and English. In claiming Burundian identity, Elli made a reference to Scottish, British or English as did Taja who constructed his belonging in relation to his country, Eritrea. It could be suggested that migrants’ forms of belonging and identity are constructed in relational terms to those of the host society, and therefore ‘positionality’ is important to meanings of identity.

One can therefore anticipate that residing in Scotland over a protracted period would facilitate a sense of belonging to Scotland and acquiring its national identity. This finding is consistent with that made by Livesley among the broader population of migrants including asylum seekers/refugees in the UK, which showed that their sense of belonging steadily increases as time passes (2008: 18). The significance of residency was manifested in the demographic profile of interviewees and the variations in their sense of belonging to, and identification with the UK and Scotland. For example, recently resident interviewees, particularly asylum seekers such as Taja, were more likely to say they had no identification with the UK, a fact they attributed to their short stay. Those who have been residing in the UK for a considerable period (meaning over two years) said they have gradually developed a sense of belonging or emotional attachment to, and identification with the UK. Equally, they have developed a national belonging to and identity with Scotland because they have resided in Scotland longer than other parts of the UK mainly because of the government’s dispersal policy:

You know since we came to this country, and because we are living in this country, I don’t think about any other country. So we want to belong here [Scotland]...(Marie)

Well, I am in Scotland, so I should feel Scottish. I have been offered asylum here so I should be Scottish (Seth)

These excerpts are a continuation of the theme of feeling of national belonging and national identity to Scotland as aspirational or an expectation from interviewees. In this case, interviewees said, 'we want to be Scottish' or 'we should be Scottish', suggesting a sentiment of appreciation or gratitude for the safety Scotland provided for them, echoing Livesley's finding among migrants in the UK. Another explanation might be that, this is a manifestation of resignation to their 'refugehood', and the realisation that they have to rebuild their lives in Scotland. Identification with a place is therefore a process that is not 'fixed' and can be mobilised towards their new social reality and offers a sense of closure to be refugees in the UK. This suggests that shifting positionality among forced migrants plays a part in their constructions of identity. Nonetheless, it suggests that residency or having rights to residency may facilitate a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with Scotland among migrants, which reflects the broader population of Scots and their identity formations (Bond 2006; Kiely 2001; McCrone and Bechhofer 2008, 2012).

Residency was a major factor in interviewees' prioritising a Scottish national identity over a British or English one. A question that this might evoke is: Why not feel British, given that they reside in Britain, and asylum is granted by the UK government? It might be interviewees misunderstood which government is responsible for granting asylum, in which case interviewees misconstrued the Scottish government as granting them asylum rather than the UK government. Furthermore, it might be that interviewees prioritised membership to their local community where they lived and Scotland over membership of the political community or the UK. This therefore would further add to the question about what is the true meaning of 'political or an imagined community' and who (ordinary people or political elites) should decide what this constitutes, a debate that is identified in the literature. One can also entertain the possibility that for some issues of national identity or identification with a national community are irrelevant.

It is for this reason that interviewees expressed the view that their children who were born in Scotland or other parts of the UK would develop, over the years, a feeling of belonging to and identity with Scotland or the UK:

Well, maybe because she was born here. She is growing up here. She is schooling here....(Lima)

So I do not feel any belonging [for Scotland or the UK], but may be my son, the small one, the younger son. May be in the future, I will belong to this country. It is for the future generation, but not for this generation (Taja)

These interviewees expected their children to develop a feeling of belonging to the UK and Scotland because of longer residency and not having contact with or residency in any other country. Both interviewees therefore understood belonging in an intergenerational context where children of migrants have an advantage of having a sense of belonging to the host country without having to face competing forms of belonging to the country of origin. At the same time, Taja anticipated that with the passing of time he would develop a feeling of belonging to the host country. Like Marie, Taja's sense of belonging is an aspiration and competes with their translocational spaces. This concurs with previous research that suggested that asylum seeker/refugee parents, as in the broader migrant population, draw a distinction between themselves and their children's sense of national belonging and national identity by virtue of being born in Scotland or the UK (Stewart and Mulvey 20210: 65: Livesley 2008: 20).

Relating to this is a sense of safety from political persecution while residing in Scotland and the UK. Many said living both in Scotland [and the UK] caused them to experience a feeling of 'physically belonging' (Marie) to Scotland, [and by extension to the UK]. It therefore caused them to 'feel happy', 'safe', and 'call both Scotland and the UK home' (Sha). 'Home' in this sense is not only about place of birth and residency, as in the case of their feeling of national belonging and national identity with homelands where they suffered persecution. 'Home', as Livesley (2008: 11) found, is a place of safety and protection that the UK and Scotland provided:

You feel happy when you are in safe place. This is the important thing. If you are not in a safe place, if the place is not safe in your country, you wouldn't be happy therefore, this is not your country. A country where you feel safe is where you belong. I belong here at the moment because I don't know my future as I am in the refugee process (Sha)

This person understands belonging to be transient and spatial. This spatial temporality of belonging is caused by shifting positionality and dislocation that may be momentary, which is attributed to being in the 'refugee process', as a location of flight and uncertainty. For this person, he was in a 'translocational space', which suggests that focusing on the 'nation' as the

main analytical category for exploring social processes of identification is problematic. As a forced migrant, Sha transformed national boundaries into translocational spaces that rendered his feeling of belonging as temporal. This would explain why many interviewees said the 'happy times' and a feeling of safety they had enjoyed prior to being persecuted in their homelands that put their security and wellbeing at risk were the only contributing factors to their continued sense of belonging to homelands.

On the other hand, others said the hardship and persecution they had suffered contributed to the lack of identification with their homelands even though they were 'born and bred' in those countries, as one interviewee explained:

I call Angola home....I just see Zambia as a base and I went through a lot in Zambia and I don't feel as belonging to Zambia. No I don't. Maybe I am still traumatised with what I went through (Nie)

This person made a social valuation of her personal circumstances to construct her feeling of belonging. She made a distinction between home, as a place associated with positive experiences and Zambia where she faced structural inequalities. Her experience confronted the notion that identification with a place is contingent on prolonged residency. Although she lived in Zambia for a long time, the trauma she suffered hindered her ability to have an emotional bond with the country. In contrast, she called Angola 'home'. It suggests that birth may be more crucial to processes of belonging than is residency for some. Nonetheless, this emphasises that belonging is about positive experiences and is therefore complex and relational to social circumstances.

What the different views suggest is that residing in a safe place such as the UK and Scotland could facilitate or hinder asylum seekers/refugees' national belonging and national identity formations, even if momentarily. Feeling safe and secure also contributed to asylum seekers/refugees' orientation to identification with the neighbourhoods and locality they resided in, and their aspirations for acquiring British citizenship, which will be further discussed in the next chapter. The findings also reflect Livesley (2008: 11) and Stewart and Mulvey's (2010: 45) conclusions that a feeling of safety and protection, and protracted residency is instrumental to asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of belonging and identity with their locality, Scotland or the UK. Interviewees' beliefs are similar to those of the broader

population that felt the three most prominent markers of national identity are residence, birth and ancestry (Bond 2006: 611). Bond's analysis and earlier work by McCrone and Bechhofer (2008; 2010) of attitudes and perceptions among Scots/British residents of Scotland demonstrated that birthplace was considered as a more significant marker of national (Scottish) identity than ancestry among the British population. However, while migrants seemingly prioritise both ancestry and birth to determine their citizenship in the same way that the UK state does, this is nuanced in the case of some asylum seekers/refugees. As the example above illustrates, the interviewee that was born in Zambia, preferred an Angolan national identity by virtue of ancestry. Despite having Zambian citizenship, and having been resident there most of her life, the state persecution she had experienced meant she would not identify with a Zambian national identity. In this case, citizenship does not necessarily mean having an attachment or feeling of belonging to a country and therefore merely a political identity (see Morrell 2008), more of which in the next chapter. As McCrone and Bechofer reminded us this implies national identity is not to be equated with citizenship (2010: 921). For this person, ancestry rather than residency and the attendant bad experiences are key markers of her national identity, suggesting that national identity forming is complex.

4.2.2 Sociability, the Welcome & Cultural Diversity

Previous studies have noted that positive experiences of Scotland and local residents as friendly and feeling at home have contributed to asylum seekers/refugees' sense of attachment and belonging (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 65; Livesley 2008: 19). However, the role played by the cultural and ethnic diversity was overlooked by these studies. My work explores this missing link. It also builds on previous findings that socialising with and feeling welcomed or wanted by Scots in their neighbourhood or at work played a part in asylum seekers/refugees' orientation to a Scottish national identity (Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008). This view is especially unanimous among interviewees who prioritise Scottishness over other UK territorial identities:

Oh, [I feel] Scottish. At times I do feel Scottish when I've got my Scottish friends, when I am volunteering out there with Scottish people because they make you feel wanted, you understand. You are doing the same job together. So you feel these are my friends, these are my colleagues. You feel at least that you are wanted. Even forget that you don't have a status for that time (Fiso)

When I am with my friends we talk about everything – politics, asylum seekers, and they might not know a lot of things, and when you are talking to them, they listen, and you think ok I belong to this people. So there is a sense of belonging when with your

friends....but outside that, you can meet and talk to people and that's where I am reminded that I don't belong here. It makes me start to think about home. I start to become home sick. So when people think you don't belong here , well where on earth do I belong to? (Elli)

Yes, I feel I belong here. Em, first of all the welcome, the Scottish people, except the drug addicts. Scottish people are welcoming, Scottish people are warm. Scottish people understand our issues better and are always there to help and listen (Nie)

These interviewees described two sets of social circumstances or groups of locals whose attitude impinged on their belonging and identity forming. On the one hand, there are the welcoming locals that interviewees perceived to have shared values and social interaction with. On the other hand, there are those locals that have hostile attitudes towards them, including drug addicts. This suggests interviewees avoided generalising the hostility to the majority of residents. The general feeling was that by socialising and forming friendships with Scottish indigenes they felt supported, welcomed and wanted. As observed in the previous section, this engendered a feeling of safety, security and happiness, which can be attributed to Scotland and not the UK. For interviewees, therefore, the community is the locality and not necessarily Scotland, or the UK or the 'nation'. However, this highlights that a feeling of belonging to the 'nation' can be facilitated by the friendliness, social networks and shared activities at the local or community level. This is because they associated locals with Scottishness and 'imagined' them as belonging to a Scottish national community. In addition, therefore, to linguistic and speech mannerisms mentioned earlier interviewees considered social interaction with and befriending of Scots as social markers of 'Scottishness'. Belonging and identity is therefore contingent on the social circumstances that migrants experienced on a daily basis.

A majority of those interviewed said that the camaraderie and socialisation with local residents, workmates and friends, was due to cultural affinity that interviewees shared with Scotland. This was another explanation of why residency leads to Scottishness, but not necessarily Britishness:

Scottish people are always interested in our culture so they always make you feel you are part of the society. But at the same time, they want you to integrate in their society. So we do exchange cultures. Like my friend who was here just now, I made her eat chicken, hard chicken with bones. She was there enjoying the food and said XX how do you cook this. So I am teaching her how to cook (Nie)

Nie continued with the theme of shared values and constructs Scottishness as a cultural identity because locals are tolerant of asylum seekers/refugees' cultural practices. Identification is therefore possible because of shared values, social networks and being valued as members of society. This implies that a feeling of sameness that is possible through shared values with other members of society is important for identity forming into the 'nation'. It also implies that social valuations in relation to attitudes of locals should inform any sociological understanding of migrant identity because the ways locals are perceived to be hostile or friendly would help migrant identity forming.

In addition, three interviewees, namely Alberto, Seth and Boyce specifically cited 'Scottish art and tradition', particularly 'folk music' (Alberto) as contributing to a feeling of belonging to, and identification with Scotland:

I respect Scotland, I respect their institutions, I respect their language, and I respect their culture as a whole. For me when I hear Scottish folk music for example, for me it has the same value as any Chilean folk music. I feel, I feel very attached to it (Alberto)

The whole environment is one that is very calm, welcoming. You pass on the streets people always say hi, they want to greet you. And you feel welcome and that something that stay in my mind and compares to the culture I come from- people always want to talk to you: "hello, how are you", and things like that. And it makes you think that you are in the same environment that you are before (Seth)

These comments offer a social evaluation of what constitutes Scottishness. Experiences of cultural affinity with music, courtesy and politeness between homeland cultures and the host culture are considered as positive cultural values. This suggests a cultural rather than a territorial impetus for emotional connections and national identity formation, as others have observed among ethnic minorities in Scotland (Hussain and Miller 2004, 2005; Sim and Bowes 2007). This feeling of cultural affinity with Scotland also plays a part in many interviewees' prioritising a Scottish national identity over Britishness or other territorial identities. Given that the majority of interviewees had little time of residency in other parts of the UK such as England, and therefore less social and cultural contact with English people and their institutions, one cannot expect them to identify with Englishness. For example, one interviewee, who had a child while briefly living in England, but had no identification said she never had enough time to "socially interact with the English" (Fiso), suggesting that

period of residency could be a factor. On the other hand, another interviewee who had lived there for a considerable period said she had no identification with England, suggesting the complexity of identity forming.

There was no discernible variation in relation to demographics of cohort: male and females, Muslim and non-Muslims gave cultural diversity and affinity they shared with Scottish people as identity markers and reasons for having a feeling of belonging to Scotland and a Scottish national identity. This finding is significant in the context of media and political discourses that was identified in the literature and the media monitoring about the threat posed by multiculturalism to migrants. This is particularly with reference to Muslims' ability to develop a feeling of belonging to and identification with a British national and cultural identity. For instance, the entire Muslim cohort who said that they did not think that being Muslim is incompatible with 'Scottishness' or 'Britishness' and prioritised a Scottish-Muslim over a British-Muslim identity attributed this to the socio-cultural diversity of Scottish society. Many said that the multiculturalism of Scotland and the existence of Islam and Scottish-Muslims contributed to their sense of belonging and identification with a Scottish-Muslim identity:

Yes, of course because there are local people who are Muslim and Scottish. Even a local lady I met her in a Muslim house in Glasgow. She is not married but she has become Muslim. She told me she becomes Muslim. She is Scottish and she is working in the bank. What is the problem? Because in this country I like one thing, they respect the religion. You are Muslim, not Muslim, Catholic, no religion and you have a right to any religion (Marie)

Yes, of course. There are many Muslims here who are British citizens. So many more than one million, mostly Pakistani, Arabs especially in London. It is possible, [to be Muslim and Scottish], yeah. ... You can be a Muslim, Jew, Christian, everyone (Taja)

What's the problem of being a Muslim. There is no problem because this is a good country. Because first, we are human being and when you see these religions you know that God wants us to be together. We are just human being, we are brother no matter the religion and you can be Muslim and British. There are too many people who are British and Muslim. Too many people who are Muslim are British or Scottish you know. Too many people got British passport that are Muslim (Rash)

Even those who said they have no problem with being identified as British Muslims based their identity preferences on British multiculturalism and the existence of Islam across the UK. This is another reminder that a transnational network of belongings and identities that

connects interviewees with their homelands, regions and cultural affiliations exists in Scotland and the UK, a discovery that other studies made among young Muslim men in Scotland (see Hopkins 2007b: 68). In contrast to Hopkins and previous studies (for instance Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008), however, this study found that the cultural dynamic to formations of national belonging and national identities was manifested in interviewees' cultural practices. These include organising cultural events and teaching their children about their homeland cultural heritage and values, more of which in *Chapters 7 & 8*. Those interviewed felt that this demonstration of their cultural and national identities and attachment to their homeland would enable their children to learn about their historical and transnational connections and identities, as one interviewee explained:

Of course, it is important for my children to understand where I came from – my roots, my culture. Citizenship is not assimilation. Well we live in a diverse society, and that is globalised today and we have to understand that and while we respect the culture, the law of the land, we equally keep our own culture and that itself will make our children to understand where they come from (Seth)

Cultural events, therefore, become symbols of multiple cultural and national belongings and identities, which contribute to the resilience of multiculturalism in British and Scottish societies and the transnational identities among migrants (Joppke 1997; Rudolph 2005).

This finding therefore raises serious questions about the linkages between forms of belonging, and national and cultural identities in the contemporary state, a recurring debate identified in the literature. For instance, scholarly opinion is divided on whether 'Britishness' is a cultural or national identity or both, and the implications of this dichotomy for 'belonginess' of individuals in the UK as a multinational state (Painter and Philo 1995: 112). More importantly, aspiring citizens such as asylum seekers/refugees are required to learn the histories, values and cultures of an 'imagined community' of 'Britishness' that is a process of nation-building and a way of unifying society around a homogenous national, political and cultural imaginaries (Turner 2006; Morrell 2008: 26). This raises two problems relating to the intersections of belonging and identity in the multinational state of the UK. Firstly, the status of 'Scottishness' that some interviewees identified with, as is the case with Scots and secondly, the expression of feelings of belonging to and identification with other cultural institutions such as Islam is at odds with a conception of 'Britishness' as a unifying national, cultural or political or racialised identity (see Sales 2010; Morrell 2008). For these

individuals, being Scottish is primarily a cultural and national identity, but as noted earlier not necessarily a political one as that of Britishness. In this sense, it could be suggested that learning about the cultural values and histories of the UK or Britishness is antithetical to the Scottish identity that they preferred. Furthermore, the expression of a Muslim identity as subsumed, meaning a ‘hyphenated’ identity under Scottishness or Britishness highlights the difficulty in conceptualising and prescribing these national identities as homogenous national and cultural entities for migrants (Turner 2006). This would therefore compound the contested nature of ‘Britishness’ (and even Scottishness) and would affirm calls for it not to be anchored in one national or cultural collectivity (Kofman 1995; Kymlicka and Norman 2000; see also Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006; Morrell 2008; Sales 2010). Nonetheless, one conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that national identity and cultural identity might not always be mutually inclusive or that an individual’s (especially ethnic minorities) national and cultural identity might coincide or diverge from the mainstream ones such as ‘Scottishness’ and ‘Britishness’ within the UK. This provides empirical support to the debate identified in the literature about the need to distinguish British citizenship and British national identity on the basis that the former is official whereas the latter is an unofficial status (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17; Heath and Roberts 2008; Kvisto and Faist 2007). Interviewees’ experiences highlight why ‘intersectionality’ in combination with ‘translocational positionality’ is useful for a sociological understanding of locations and contexts from which identities are ‘imagined’ and narrated in relation to social values, networks and positions such as friendships, ethnicity and gender.

Whilst all the Muslim interviewees were comfortable with identifying with mainstream identities and cultures, the data revealed that other members of their network were a bit cynical:

When I received the support letter from the church where my daughter was involved in doing some activities at Easter, they [Muslim friends and family] said: “even though Marie is Muslim her daughter is involved in the church...”. Many people told me, why do you leave your daughter to go and do something like that. I told them, I don’t like to restrict her. I want to be able to teach her to make the difference between religions. ...Because we are all the same...(Marie)

Marie questioned and distanced herself from the views of other Muslim families and, therefore, located herself within a culturally diverse Britishness and Scottishness. Marie from

Algeria like other Muslim interviewees such as Taja from Eritrea and Rash from Pakistan was suggesting that religious and cultural identities can co-exist.

4.2.3 Parenthood

All 17 parents in the cohort said parenthood played a major part in developing a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with the UK and Scotland, echoing previous findings (Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008). It is also a marker of their Scottish national identity as they said they felt Scottish and/or British after giving birth in Scotland:

Yes, I feel a sense of belonging in Scotland now [more]than my country. Suppose [it's] the family ties, the environment that gives me the opportunity. But similarly I have responded to that very well too. Also it is important that I feel a sense of belonging now because I have got children. I wanted to give my children a sense of belonging in this country. And so it became important that I began to love Scotland...(Alberto)

I am Scottish too. So you divide yourself when you see your children think they are Scottish and do not belong to Algeria...So we want to belong here. Especially when we see our children. Like my son, he was born here (Marie)

The above accounts revealed that having a feeling of belonging or identity is not automatic, but a decision arrived at. It is also a process that can be developed due to change of social circumstances such as upon having children. Parents also felt that they have a role to play in their children's identification with Scotland as a place of birth and residency. To undertake this parental role, Alberto and Marie felt they must first develop a feeling of belonging to Scotland. Parents felt that having a feeling of belonging would in turn help their children to develop feelings of belonging and identification with Scotland. In this case, belonging was mobilised in response to changes in social circumstances such as parenthood. It might also imply that having children in the host country is a driver of asylum seekers/refugees' resignation to their 'refugeehood'. This is because the general feeling was that having children brings the responsibility to provide them with safety, security and stability because 'they know Scotland is home' (Fiso). Previously, the literature on forced migration has focussed on the desire for physical belonging and wellbeing in asylum-seeking migrants' resignation to 'refugeehood'. This study therefore develops another perspective that parenthood is also a major factor in asylum-seeking migrants' resignation to 'refugeehood' and in their national belonging and identity forming. Parenthood also plays a part in decisions

about taking up British citizenship that Livesley (2008) also found to be the case among migrants including asylum seekers/refugees in other parts of the UK.

As already explained, there is also a feeling among interviewees that they have to play a role in enabling their offspring to learn about and develop a feeling towards homeland cultural and national identities. They said this is part of being a 'good parent' as:

The kids are growing in a different culture... I share and teach them my culture as much as I can. Not as much as I would have wanted. But my kids are interacting with the UK kids and therefore they are picking up, many things. But I also keep my tradition and teach them and tell them that when I was in my country this is what my dad used to say or do (Leo)

It is our responsibility as parents to talk to our children, as young men, to tell them the way to live life here. Because life is so easy for children here. You know, they give them so much power than parents here. So our duty is to educate them [about our cultures]. What we don't want is for our children to involve in gangs (Nie)

The above extracts could mean interviewees had some reservations about migrant children's behaviour while growing up in the UK and therefore made social valuations of British society. It also implies cultural differences in childrearing practices. In addition, these parents might be responding to public constructions of ethnic minority children as likely to be perpetrators of anti-social behaviour that was widely reported in the news during fieldwork. However, other motivations can be unpicked from the above narrative for interviewees teaching their children about their homeland cultures. Firstly, their children might like to retrace and visit their 'roots' or homelands in the future. Exposing their children to homeland cultures and heritage is a way of equipping them for this eventuality. Secondly, teaching their children the cultures and histories of their ancestral homelands would counter their assimilation into 'British culture' or UK's territorial national and cultural identities:

I have to respond to my children, I have to tell them why I came here. Incidentally, one of the reasons I did this [website] is that my children they always know their life here. The reason why they are called X, they are not called a Smith or a McKay. They also now know exactly my origin, why I came here, what happened, so for them it is point of reference not only for outside people, but even for my family (Alberto)

Interviewees' belief was that cultural assimilation is likely to cause their children 'to lose their roots' or their homelands' national and cultural identity. This is especially because, as mentioned earlier, interviewees felt that cultural practices are identity markers and facilitators

of feelings of belonging to and identities with homelands, the UK and Scotland. Thirdly, cultural learning of this type would promote an understanding of trans-cultural and trans-national identities between British citizens and asylum seekers/refugees. Interviewees' perception was that children of British citizens would also potentially learn about the cultures of asylum seekers/refugees' homelands as they interact with their children. It is worth pointing that most parents were in favour of their children imbibing the cultures of the UK as the host country. One can argue that this is a natural eventuality and therefore beyond the control of parents. Nonetheless, it reveals that transmigrant parents are pragmatic in accepting this social reality. However, the general view was that learning about their homeland cultures was equally significant. In the process, parents acted as a repository of cultural knowledge, identities and traditions of their homelands. National identity is therefore understood in relation to the translocational context and recognition that migrants inhabit multiple positions, belongings and dislocations from 'home'. Belonging and identity forming serves a social function.

However, attempts to aid the cultural and national identities of their offspring might not always be successful as one parent said:

...because she was born here, she is growing up here, she is schooling here. Even though I tell her about my home country, she would say to me: mum, I am Scottish, I am born here I am not from Africa. It is the same with us, we feel we belong there because we were born there, brought up there and grew up in that environment (Lima)

Lima's comments further highlighted the counterproductivity of parental intervention in the younger generation's sense of belonging and identity forming. It also highlighted the fact that these processes are relational to social circumstances of birth and residency. This area of feelings of belonging to, and identification with a national and cultural community among asylum seekers/refugees' children deserves further research. This is because one parent recounted that the drivers for her feeling of Scottishness in relation to England is different from her sons:

They [her sons] feel they are Scottish. You know, when there are sports, they are anti-English. I think it is something they adopt from school. They feel Scottish (Haja)

Haja's son is socialised through schooling and sports into Scottishness, an identity that she said is expressed in relation to an anti-English national identity. This suggests that Haja's son would prioritise Scottishness over Englishness and that identity forming is relational to expressing anti-English sentiments and out of loyalty to Scotland as place of residence and birth. It also suggests that one can expect migrants' offspring to have no identifications or emotional attachment to England even though they have not resided there. One can therefore hypothesise that identity processes would vary across generations due to differences in experiences of 'translocational positionalities' between parents and offspring. 'Translocational positionalities' are based on differences in socialisation such as offspring undergoing schooling in Scotland. Further investigation of this area would help us to understand the intergenerational dimension (between asylum seekers/refugee parents and offspring) to forced migrants identity formations in Scotland.

4.2.4 The Colonial Experience & Democratic Values

Morell (2008: 33) observed that the decline of Britishness and the emergence of Scottishness (and Welshness) among the broader UK population might be due to the UK being associated with oppression and racism under British colonial rule. However, this study found a reverse effect on many asylum seekers/refugees and that the colonial experience and its symbols and values build a feeling of belonging to and identification with the UK among asylum seekers/refugees. Many interviewees said they have a feeling of national belonging to and national identity with the UK because of the colonial ties it has with their homelands. This view is especially dominant among those who said they feel 'British' and include Muslim interviewees:

As for me since I have been in Zimbabwe, born and bred there, and colonised by the British, I speak fluent English. I didn't have to go to school to speak their English. So I think I am British myself (Fiso)

Yes it is possible, even though I see myself first as Muslim and then British. It is possible and reason is that because we used to be British colony years ago. So that time people who were born before independence were British, they got their British citizenship and they were Muslim at the same time. So for us people before independence got British citizenship. So in my mums' and dad's birth certificate it says – British protectorate person. So I was ready to get my British citizenship back home in Africa, so for us it is already usual to be a British and a Muslim or Muslim and a British (Lima)

To interpret the above narratives, some key areas are worth noting, which are relevant to the foregoing discussion. Firstly, interviewees considered the birth certificate that recognised their parent as a former British Protectorate Person to mean being eligible for British citizenship. By being the offspring of the holder of such a birth certificate, the interviewee thought she was entitled to claim British citizenship even while in Africa (Somalia). This view is at odds with current UK citizenship policy that sidelined birth and ancestry as conferring an automatic right to British citizenship. It highlights the conception that citizens of former British protectorates thought they should have a claim or are entitled to British citizenship by virtue of birth to former British Protectorate parents. Secondly, and as a corollary to the above, a UK birth certificate and British citizenship are perceived to be synonymous with British national identity, a finding that is consistent with Livesley (2008: 20). One can be critical of inferring that this individual expresses a national affiliation with Britain rather than a feeling of Britishness. In this case, claims to national identity are based on claims to legal status, which highlights the complexity of the meanings and interpretations of identities. Thirdly, in the context of ethnic minorities' 'hyphenated' identities in the contemporary multinational UK state, the interviewee prioritised her Muslim cultural identity to a British national one (see also Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Hopkins 2007b), which she justified on the grounds that previous citizenship policy accommodated multiple cultural identities. It implies that historically, 'Britishness' was not conceptualised as a singular cultural or national identity, but consisted of multiple cultural identities, supporting views that current 'assimilationist' policies are a retreat from multiculturalism, as identified in the literature (see Vasta 2009; Kofman 2002). Furthermore, Fiso claimed to be British even though she did not feel but 'think' so, because they speak English (see also Livesley 2008). In this sense, English is a linguistic marker of being 'British'. Moreover, as the literature review noted, this person, like proponents of current UK citizenship policy, felt that speaking English, among others, is a key requirement for facilitating feelings of belonging to an 'imagined' 'British' cultural identity (see also Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008).

However, while interviewees considered English as a linguistic marker of 'Britishness', it could be recalled that it was earlier mentioned that some interviewees adopted a Glaswegian accent to demonstrate that they prioritised a Scottish national identity over an English or British one. This suggests that there are nuances within certain identity markers such as the English language, which is widely perceived as an embracing marker of 'Britishness' that

individuals including ethnic minorities deploy to further differentiate their preferences of national belonging and national identity. Nonetheless, these views suggest that migrants could think and claim to be or belong to, but not necessarily feel or want to become British (Livesley 2010: 4). In addition, migrants perceive British national identity and British citizenship as not overlapping. British citizenship is therefore perceived to be secondary to, and not at odds with their Muslim cultural identity. Cultural and national identities therefore may not co-exist or overlap. On the other hand, it could be argued that this is a reminder that British citizenship is a political identity and may not necessarily lead to a feeling of belonging to the UK (Heath and Roberts 2008; Kvisto and Faist 2007).

It also suggests that some asylum seekers/refugees' identification with Britishness is shaped by dislocation from homelands:

I feel British yes, because that will make it easy for my mum to understand. Because when I came here, I never knew about Scotland. I knew about David Livingstone and things like that. We thought Scotland was England. I only knew when I came to Scotland. So if I say mum I am in Scotland, I will confuse her. But, if I say: Mum I am in London then she would understand better (Nie).

This person seemed to suggest that Scottish identity is nested under a British national identity because of Britain's status as a colonial power. Feeling British may mean an expression of national affiliation or that it is being mobilised in relation to a political identity that has been widely attributed to the UK by others beyond its territorial borders. Migrants' dislocations from home therefore continue to influence their affiliations and claims to British national identity.

The significance of asylum seekers/refugees' sharing of historical, linguistic and cultural identities through colonialism to their feeling of belonging to and identifying with the UK are underpinned by many interviewees' choice of the UK as a destination for seeking asylum. This was especially the case among asylum seekers/refugees from ex-colonial British territories as the excerpt above would illustrate. This finding was not surprising, as others have observed that the West's colonial relationship with the non-West has been crucial to asylum seekers' destinations. For example, an IOM (2005) study, discovered that almost all Algerian migrants' choice of France as a geographical destination of asylum in 2000 emanated from having historical and colonial links with that country (IOM 2005 quoted in

Sales 2007: 45). While an analysis of interviewees' colonial ties with the UK has been underexplored in previous studies (for instance see Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Livesley 2008), this study builds on their finding that the UK's liberal democratic values provided a connectedness for many asylum seekers/refugees. This colonial connection also played a part for some interviewees' choice of the UK as place for asylum:

The UK is known to be one of the first democracies. You know that they have a good set of laws, freedom of expression, etc. etc. so the UK is a pioneer of that, and that is an incentive in itself. If you look at the opportunities, the UK presented –...it is a free country, a free society. You could say like Sweden, but the UK has a strong tradition of accommodating opposing views (Leo)

One can be critical in saying that this opinion is expected from asylum seekers/refugees that are likely to have a political activism background that led to their persecution and seeking asylum. Leo, for instance, is from Rwanda (see Appendix 1), a country formerly described as a failed state with undemocratic governance, and his views should therefore be treated with caution. In this case, his views were framed by having shared values with the UK democratic processes. Nonetheless, by focussing on such democratic values, linguistic and historical connections with their homelands, interviewees express a civic form of identification. This highlights the need to pay attention to migrants' locations and context from which they narrate their identities.

4.3 Concluding Remark

As explained in the introduction, the key focus of this study is to investigate the forms and motivations of national belonging and national identity among asylum seekers/refugees. This chapter has therefore focussed on the affective-based and non-structural dimension in this respect. *Chapter 7* will explore other factors that are more rights-based particularly in relation to naturalisation and residency rights, which orientate asylum seekers/refugees to feelings of belonging and identity. In addition, *Chapter 7* will explore interviewees' practices and actions that orientate them to localised, national and transnational identities. Nevertheless, some key findings are worth highlighting because they build on knowledge about ethnic minorities' belonging and identity formation in the multinational UK state.

Migrants, like other British citizens, manifest feelings of belonging and identities, which are multiple, complex, fluid and transient. They are the product of structural inequalities and

diverse experiences. Asylum seekers/refugees therefore have to negotiate constantly their feelings of belonging and identity. Their belonging and identity operate in two spheres: physical and emotional. The physical domain refers to an individual's physical safety, security and wellbeing and his presence in a place. The emotional domain of belonging refers to an individual's psychological attachment to a place. Physical and emotional domains need not be mutually exclusive, but can be interconnected or overlap. Feeling physically safe from persecution of homeland and feeling welcomed and at home can engender an emotional attachment to the nation, state or any other place through a feeling of happiness and being "at home". As one of the interviewees explained, physical presence in Scotland is largely responsible for developing a feeling of belonging or emotional attachment to both Scotland and the UK: "Because we are living in this country I don't think about another country. So we want to belong here". On the other hand, feeling physically safe in the UK and Scotland might not always facilitate an identification or emotional attachment with these territories. It highlights that orientations and meanings of identity are not 'essentialised' constructions. As migrants, interviewees inhabit multiple locations, positions and belongings at the national and transnational levels.

This study has shed insights on issues identified in the literature that raise serious questions about the linkages between belonging, national and cultural identities in the multinational UK state. These include: Firstly, the role played by the cultural practices and ethnic diversity to orientations to national belonging and national identity, particularly Muslims prioritising 'Scottishness' to that of 'Britishness'. This contributes to the resilience of multiculturalism and the transnational identities among migrants (Joppke 1997; Rudolph 2005). For instance, scholarly opinion is divided on whether 'Britishness' is a cultural or national identity or both, and the implications of this dichotomy for 'belongingness' of individuals in the UK as a multinational state (Painter and Philo 1995). Secondly, previous studies conducted in Scotland (for instance Hopkins 2007b; Stewart and Mulvey 2010) overlooked the cultural dynamic to formations of national belonging and national identities among ethnic minorities including asylum seekers. This study found that by organising cultural events and teaching their children about their homeland cultural heritage and values, interviewees said they enable their children to learn about their historical and transnational connections and identities. Thirdly, migrants, from ex-colonial territories, make claims to their 'hyphenated' identities within 'Britishness' on the grounds that historically, 'Britishness' was not conceptualised as a

homogenous cultural or national identity, but consisted of multiple cultural identities. This would strengthen support for theoretical views that current ‘assimilationist’ policies are a retreat from multiculturalism, as identified in the literature. This study also suggests a significant finding that while the decline of Britishness and the resurgence of Scottishness among Scots may be attributed to British colonial past (Morrell 2008: 33), for some migrants it might be a facilitator. Fourthly, previously, the literature on forced migration has focussed on the desire for physical belonging and wellbeing in asylum-seeking migrants’ resignation to ‘refugeehood’. This study suggests that parenthood is also a major factor in asylum-seeking migrants’ resignation to ‘refugeehood’ and in their national belonging and identity forming.

My work is therefore important in contributing methodological insights on the combined use of ideas of ‘intersectionality’ and ‘translocational positionality’ in investigating processes of identification. As explained in *Chapter 3*, ‘intersectionality’ refers to the interconnections of social categories such as gender and ethnicity that are assumed to be ‘possessive’ attributes whereas ‘translocational positionality’ refers to social locations and processes from which identities are experienced. Using them in combination can enable a better understanding of how identities are ‘imagined’ through transnational frames or locations and recognise that identities are not ‘static’, but relational, contested and shifting. This would raise serious questions about conceptions of membership and belonging in relation to territorial borders or bounded communities where British citizenship determines who is included or excluded. What interviewees’ experiences suggest is that as non-citizens they created locations of belonging that are not contingent on being British citizens and having access to ‘Marshallian’ rights. Citizenship forming is through social processes and relations such as parenthood and friendships, and identification with transnational spaces. These render the notion of physical presence or territorial membership for determining who belong or does not belong to a national community as precarious. It highlights the fact that conflating citizenship with the ‘nation’, ‘society’ and the ‘state’ that renders community members, nationals and citizens as the same is also precarious (Rosie *et al.* 2006: 328).

Nonetheless, the study identifies some gaps. It would be interesting to explore further ethnic minorities’ nuanced use of identity markers such as a Glaswegian accent when speaking English to prioritise a Scottish over a British national identity. It was not the focus of this study to explore with interviewees what they meant or understood by ‘Scottishness’ or

‘Britishness’. It only focussed on investigating the triggers for their feeling of belonging to, and identification with a place, in this case Scotland, the UK and homelands. Another gap that this study identifies, as others, relates to the meanings and formations of identities among asylum seeker/refugee children. Interviewees, particularly parents, suggest a generational dimension to their children’s belonging and identity formations. As others have suggested, research is needed in this area (Stewart and Mulvey 2010). In addition, there is a need to investigate what children think about the role of their parent in facilitating their homeland cultural and national identities through cultural transmission, among others. Another gap that this study identifies has to do with the lack of a comparative study into the impulses for the belonging and identity formations of asylum seekers/refugees residing in Scotland and those residing in England. The work of Livesley had found that loyalty to Scotland and a feeling of Scottishness was stronger among migrants including asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland than a loyalty of Englishness among those in England (2008: 22). One can extrapolate from my work to suggest those interviewees’ perceptions of local Scots as sociable, welcoming and sharing similar values through arts and culture might have played a part in Scotland-based migrants’ identification with Scotland. However, as stated in the literature review, the reasons for this difference are yet to be investigated. This area needs investigation.

Chapter 5

MEDIATED BELONGING & IDENTITY: beliefs, explanations & self-representation

As explained in the introduction, the literature review and research design chapters, this study specifically focused on investigating asylum seekers/refugees' feeling of national belonging and national identity and self-perceptions of the importance of UK media in these processes. However, its findings ended up being significant in relation to assessing theoretical, policymaking and empirical accounts on mediated belonging and identity. Three areas are worth highlighting in this respect, namely; perceptions of differences in Scottish and London newspapers treatment of asylum seekers/refugees, interviewees' meanings and explanations of the coverage and interviewees preferred forms of media constructions of refugee identities.

It has been discussed in *Chapters 1 & 3*, that Scotland focussed studies on asylum seekers have some gaps. For instance, Barclay et al (2003) found that the hostile coverage generated public hostility, racism and community tensions that might hinder asylum seekers' resettlement, integration and good community relations. The study also found that community actors said the mainstream press was a culprit, while praising the community newspapers or what they referred to as 'smaller local press' for positive coverage. However, their study did not explore asylum seekers' views about community newspapers. While their study did not specifically focus on belonging and identity, they missed an opportunity to explore how the media generated public hostility, racism and alienation intersect with asylum seekers' identification with their locality. In addition, their analyses of the relationship between interviewees' perceptions of a relatively positive coverage in the Scottish press compared with the 'national' press (referred to here as the London newspapers), could be built on to reflect the nuances in political geography of asylum reporting in the UK. This is because their study homogenised 'Fleet Street and their Scottish editions' as 'national'. Even Stewart and Mulvey's study (2010) that specifically investigated issues of belonging and identity among asylum seekers/refugees, only hinted at a media dynamic to feelings of stigma among asylum seekers causing them to disown the refugee identity. More importantly, both tell us little about either asylum seekers/refugees' own interpretations, contestations and explanations for

the coverage or about how they would like their identities to be constructed. To date no study in Scotland has explored asylum seekers' opinions about community newspapers' positive constructions of refugee identity and their importance for good community relations and asylum seekers/refugees' identification to their locality and Scottishness. Also missing is an examinations of asylum seekers/refugees' self-representations. This chapter is intended to develop our understanding in these areas.

It needs reiterating that investigating these areas is significant. Firstly, it has been considered in the preceding chapter and the literature review that some media and political discourses depict asylum seekers/refugees, particularly Muslims as the cultural 'other', incapable of acquiring a British cultural and national identity and that some journalists questioned the right of asylum seekers/refugees to be or belong in the UK (also Levesley 2008: 4). Secondly, these studies and others elsewhere suggested a link between negative media coverage and racism against asylum seekers/refugees, 'hate crime' and community tensions in areas hosting asylum seekers/refugees (Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Barclay *et al.* 2003). The scholarly and policymaking consensus is that this could condition asylum seekers/refugees' inclusion-exclusion and feelings of national belonging and national identity with the UK (Khan 2012b, 2013; Cheong *et al.* 2007; ICAR 2004). Exploring the influence of UK media in these areas will therefore offer opportunities to understand the views of migrants including Muslims on their belonging and identity formations, and test if they depart or converge with theoretical and media accounts. Thirdly, it is significant to elicit the opinions of asylum seekers/refugees about their interpretations of media coverage and about their preferred forms of representations, given that policymakers, community groups and refugee networks have directed efforts towards promoting positive images in UK news media reporting of asylum (Smart *et al.* 2007; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Bowes *et al.* 2009). Any finding on the positive role that community newspapers would play in this respect has a potential to contribute towards this goal.

It is worth reiterating that this study does not claim media causality. Nonetheless, the data was analysed in the light of the following questions focussing on interviewees' perceptions of the importance of media asylum stories to their belonging and identity formations. This is with reference to their beliefs about, explanations of and preferences for news media coverage:

- Does UK media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees perceived by interviewees contribute to or hinder interviewees' identification with their locality, UK and Scotland?
- If so, in what ways?
- How then would they explain and understand UK media coverage of asylum seekers/refugees?
- What kind of representation would they prefer?

In addition to these lines of inquiry, the data was also interrogated to tease out interviewees' perceptions of the role of negative depictions in generating hostile public attitudes including racism and 'hate crime' against them (Lynn and Lea 2003; Ferguson and Walters 2005; Haynes *et al.* 2009). This kind of public hostility has been suggested to be crucial to ethnic minority migrants' inclusion-exclusion from membership of the national community and their ability to have identification with the host country (Stewart and Mulvey, 2010; Rosenborg, 2008; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Wood and King 2001). As stated in the literature review and methodology chapters, other analytical categories including stereotyping, agenda setting and conflation, which were identified as key discursive features in media constructions of negative refugee identity, also informed the analysis. The questions and analyses were aimed at eliciting information to cover *Research Questions 2 & 3 - What are asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions of newspapers' coverage of the asylum issue and its importance, if any, it to their national belonging and identity forming? And, what other insights into the relationship between identity and UK newspapers' coverage can be gained from asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions?*

The chapter has three sections. The first will provide interviewees' beliefs about and explanations of news media coverage. It will highlight two areas that are fundamental to this study, namely, interviewees' opinions of a media dynamic in prioritising a Scottish national identity and in constructing racialised 'Muslim' identities. The second will then go on to explore how these perceptions of media depictions are important to interviewees' belonging and identity formations. It will also discuss interviewees' beliefs about the impact of the asylum coverage on UK citizens-cum-readers' constructions of asylum seekers/refugees' identities and in shaping public hostile attitudes. It considers some self-perceptions that public attitudes are bound to affect asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to belonging and identity (Tyler 2006; Livesley 2008), which were explored in the previous chapter. The last section is a discussion of interviewees' views about the kind of media reporting and identity

constructions they would prefer, which could develop feelings of belonging to and identification with the UK and Scotland among asylum seekers/refugees. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the findings in this chapter will enable a basic assessment of the reality of interviewees' accounts in selected media content that is contained in *Chapter 6*.

5.1 Explaining UK Media Coverage & Identity Construction

The introduction and literature review noted that much of UK media deployed racist, inaccurate and stereotypical depictions, conflation or 'scapegoating', spurious statistics, political reporting at the expense of a humanitarian one, and that the views of asylum seekers/refugees were, in the main, absent in the reporting. The analysis tested for these depictions and also generated five categories, which interviewees' deployed to explain UK media reporting of asylum, namely; stereotyping and the 'blame game', agenda setting, a community/Scottish newspaper dimension, saleability and racism, and professional ignorance. Interviewees felt that these categories were crucial in assigning 'collective' and racialised 'Islamophobic' identities to asylum seekers/refugees. In addition, interviewees perceived this manner of reporting to influence the public's othering of asylum seekers/refugees in ways identified in the literature as 'folk devils' and the outside cultural 'other' with inferior social status. Nonetheless, the analysis discovered that perceptions of a more favourable coverage in the Scottish and community press contributes to some asylum seekers/refugees' prioritising a Scottish national identity over British. Previous studies particularly as those of Mollard (2001), Barclay et al (2003) and Wilson (2004) carried out in Scotland, and those of others elsewhere in the UK (for instance Kaye 2001, Clark and Campbell 2000; Buchanan and Grillo 2004; ICAR 2004; Smart *et al.* 2007) did not focus on asylum seekers/refugees' explanations for media's negative depictions. Eliciting interviewees' beliefs about this kind of coverage is therefore consistent with this study's aim, which is to contribute something new to the existing body of work on media reporting of asylum. It will also develop knowledge on the victims' (asylum seekers/refugees) self-perceptions and interpretations of the reportage, the motivations behind the reporting and its importance to their orientation to belonging and identity that will be discussed in the following section.

5.1.1 Stereotyping & ‘the blame game’

You know at times you think you don’t have to read the newspapers...
because [when] you open it, there is always a story about us. You open stories in *the Metro*, it is about us (Fiso)

The above excerpt reflects the unanimous view among interviewees that the asylum issue is widely reported in UK media, and that negative coverage exceeded positive ones. Most interviewees felt that such coverage amounted to what others referred to as a ‘blame game’ (Buchanan and Grillo 2003). In interviewees’ parlance, much of the news media use asylum seekers/refugees as scapegoats for some of the social malaise afflicting British society (field notes, August 2008), reflecting studies of the 1990/mid-2000 (see Kaye 1998, 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000; Barclay *et al.* 2003). Interviewees expressed the view that there was hardly “a day that went by without a story about asylum seekers” (Fiso) in both TV and newspapers. Most felt that many stories were prejudiced against asylum seekers/refugees, and depicted them as: “scroungers”, “not wanted [or] welcome”, “spongers”, “here to take our jobs [or] social services” (Marie), “don’t have education”, “greedy” (Hael), “take taxpayers’ money and just live on benefit”, and “flooding the UK” (Fiso). They felt that this kind of coverage might have conveyed to the public that asylum seekers/refugees are perpetrators of criminality, a threat to public safety, and the cause of societal ills.

Most expressed the view that parts of the media conflate asylum seekers/refugees with economic migrants in their reporting. The feeling was that the conflation implied some journalists refused to acknowledge asylum seekers/refugees to be victims of persecution, a humanitarian issue, and was rather motivated by economic considerations:

We never say we are here starving, so we need money from the government. I don’t think anyone who ever came for that. Everyone came here scared and running from the problems back home to be protected (Fiso)

Interviewees alleged that journalists treated them “like numbers”, rather than “treat [them] like human beings” (Marie) to generalise or “lump together” (Boyce); and “blow out of all proportion” (Leo) individual [asylum seekers/refugees] indiscretions. This was perceived to demonise the asylum-seeking community collectively as anti-social:

You are just put in one blanket. It is prejudice, because all what they say about asylum seekers is not correct. Every individual is a unique individual. We've all got the right minds whether in our own conscience to do good from bad. But not everyone is bad. It is not all asylum seekers, for instance, I am not getting any benefit, and I am not a burden to society.....There was a case where this other guy who probably raped someone, and *the Sun* blames all asylum seekers like they are like bad people of which I believe that every individual is unique. Not all people from Sierra Leone are good. Not all people from Sierra Leone are bad. Not all all asylum seekers are good. Not all asylum seekers are bad (Hael)

This person was not saying that asylum seekers do not commit criminal activities nor is he being defensive of his community (asylum seekers/refugees). He implied that press reporting might be accurate. However, he deplored the stereotyping of a whole community of asylum seekers. He therefore showed a pragmatic understanding and evaluation of the issue, which rendered his subjectivity as credible (Leudar *et al.* 2007). Another perception was that this exaggerated portrayal indicated a lack of “sensitivity” to the plight of asylum seekers (Alberto) by sections of the UK press. The above re-narration of a story in *the Sun* gave some credibility to interviewees’ perception that exaggerations through generalisations in parts of the UK press communicated a negative stereotypical message to the public.

Whilst accusations of media prejudice were dominant, many interviewees pragmatically analysed the media’s treatment of asylum seekers/refugees as indicative of freedom of speech in the West. However, the majority said that their attempts to exercise that freedom have been futile because some journalists have not been keen to hear their stories. In addition, the general perception was that the anti-asylum press denied them the right to exercise free speech, particularly in expressing their views on the asylum issue. Interviewees also said some journalists on the grounds of free speech have defended negative media representations. Nonetheless, the general view was that the asylum-friendly representations were far outweighed by negative asylum stories. Interviewees’ views are consistent with studies of the 1990’s and elsewhere including Australia where the conflation of asylum seekers/refugees with economic migrants by journalists was largely responsible for representing asylum seekers as a “problem” population to the state (Nickels 2007: 43).

5.1.2 Agenda setting

Most interviewees attributed variation in reporting across newspapers, to agenda setting by news media along ideological lines as identified in the literature. In general, interviewees perceived the right-wing press as allied to the Conservative Party and likely to report that migration was an economic liability to the state. On the other hand, interviewees perceived a left wing press to be allied to the Labour party, to be broadly asylum-friendly and to communicate the economic benefits of migration:

..it's mainly the Conservative newspapers are opposing the influx of foreigners coming to this country. This is general with the conservative or what they called right wing newspapers. And *the Herald* and others on the left are more humanitarian and think that people have a right to move around in this earth, on this globe, which is something natural, I mean immigration, from the beginning of history (Sha)

However, this interviewees' dichotomy of the press into right-left political positions was only clear-cut in relation to the broadsheets. No clear pattern was discernible from their perceptions in describing the political leaning of the tabloid press. For example, while some interviewees claimed that *the Times* espoused conservative right wing views in its asylum reporting, and saw *the Guardian* and *the Herald* as "leftie" "[supporting] the Labour Party"¹¹ (Hael), the general belief was all tabloid newspapers were anti-asylum as this excerpt explained:

Well, *the Times* is conservative, and *the Sun*. They are all like anti-asylum, because they are very harsh, *the Sun*...But I would like *the Guardian* because they go like straight. But *the Sun*, *the Mirror*, and the small papers they just concentrated on negative, as if they are anti-immigrant (Hael)

Interviewee's characterisation of *the Herald* as aligned to the Labour Party should be treated with caution as this paper is hardly known to have any sustained Labour Party sympathies. However, perceptions of agenda setting according to the political leanings of the press resonated with studies of the 1990s. Others have also observed that in the 2000s the right wing media has been associated with mobilising opposition against migration (Delante 2008: 680). For example, the 1990 studies revealed that *the Sun* and *the Daily Express*

¹¹ Interviewees and I had an insightful discussion about perceptions that the Labour Party owns *the Guardian*. The main reason tendered by interviewees for this view was that both have 'leftie' political stance, even though *the Guardian* and New Labour could hardly be described as 'leftie', but liberal (see Coffin and O'Halloran 2006: 292).

predominantly carried anti-asylum stories (also Lugo-Ocando 2010: 102). *Chapter 6* will test the reality of these perceptions of the media coverage.

There was also a general perception among interviewees that collusion between media and political elites might influence the way some political elites responded to asylum seekers/refugees. This was particularly in relation to formulating asylum-citizenship policies and the processing of asylum applications:

So in addition to the political point of view of the government, they put certain legislation to restrict the number of people who come to this country. ...And so they started with the media to talk about asylum seekers, they invented this failed asylum seeker. ...They are preparing the public to have a negative view of these people and the government put on restriction to prepare the public....you know these laws and regulation change all the time according to political wish of government (Sha)

At times you worry that you don't know whoever is in charge of your case, if they've been influenced by whatever they've read in the newspapers. So you are like in a Catch 22. You really don't know whatever is going on with your case (Boyce)

Interviewees cited the prolific legislation as indicative of media influence on policymaking, a view interviewees shared with Lewis (2005), and which was also identified in the literature review and *Chapter 1*. Interviewees said, supporting Lewis' view, those policies on deportation; 'dawn raids' and preclusion from the labour market of some asylum seekers exemplified agenda setting to get popular support for anti-asylum legislation (see also Hoxsey 2011; Anderson *et al.* 2011). Some interviewees such as Boyce blamed the anti-asylum coverage for the failure of their asylum claim appeals. Interviewees' accusations of collusion in agenda setting therefore provide a useful insight into understanding power relations in British society. Interviewees might be implying that negative representations of asylum seekers/refugees had their origins in public policy, and that UK media might be instrumental in its dissemination and legitimisation (Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad 2008). A similar observation had been made by Leudar *et al* (2008) who found that UK newspapers tended to represent asylum seekers/refugees in a way that reflected repressive state policies against them (Leudar *et al.* 2008: 204). Interviewees' perception echoed Kaye's (1998: 163) hypothesis that press coverage in the 1990s corresponded to increased policymaking. Arguably, therefore, negative representations as others have argued, might be motivated by elites' desire to implement 'restrictive' asylum policies that were accordant with their

political beliefs (Fear 2007; Leudar *et al.* 2008). There was another interpretation that most interviewees tendered, which is the frequency of anti-asylum legislation was aimed at placating an anxious public over media “scaremongering” (Hael) on uncontrollable asylum. This view would resonate with critics’ views, enunciated in *Chapters 1 and 2*, that the West’s immigration and citizenship policies are predicated on the assumption that citizens only tolerated and supported immigration if they saw government’s determination to control and manage migration (Nickels 2007; Kofman 2005: 459; Rudolph 2005).

Another recurring view among many interviewees’ including the eight who are Muslims was that sections of the UK press were pursuing subterranean motives: racism, particularly ‘Islamophobia’ and financial consideration, rather than purely political beliefs. Muslim interviewees, of both genders, felt that the recurrent depiction of asylum seekers/refugees as Islamic terrorists was part of some media and political elites’ covert racism. Haja explained that depictions include: “Muslims are harsh, the religion is harsh, as terrorists and asylum seekers, and all these people doing bad horrible things”. Another interviewee, who is an exiled journalist, said numerous attempts to correct or challenge inaccurate coverage of asylum seekers/refugees had been futile. He, like Haja attributed this to racism and ‘Islamophobia’ in much of UK media:

For some of them no matter what you say to them, no matter how logical you are, how convincing, from the beginning they will reject you because of your race or religion. I did speak to such people in the media whom I am sure agree with my viewpoint but they were prejudiced because of my race, religion... (Sha)

I think it [media coverage] is bad. There is this debate. Some [media] are pro. Some are against, and mostly it is bad news... I was in this class when I was doing these courses. They were saying that I think that the school were going to stop doing the Nativity for Christmas, like when I was working in school, like my work placement when nursery kids have to learn about this and some just wouldn’t cope and just being sat for months and the teachers say this is too hard for the kids and they were taken down. Some of the people blamed this on asylum seekers... they were saying that other cultures have taken over and they are preventing them from practising their culture. (Haja)

If you go on saying oh the asylum seekers are good people, all the Muslims are nice people you know no body would want to listen. Everybody wants the horrible malicious things to hear. And it is easier to make people enemies than to make them be friends. It is much faster. With the bad things they spread faster, you know, than the good things. (Haja)

These stories have some plausible interpretations. In the above account of Sha, he perceived reporters or newspapers that would not tolerate his objection to their anti-asylum stories to be motivated by racism and Islamophobia. However, he recognised that there were others, who did not espouse these tendencies, suggesting that there are anti-asylum and anti-Muslim journalists alongside less hostile ones. This is another reminder that interviewees could be pragmatic in their interpretation of news reporting. It might also imply that this is intended to render their accounts credible. Similar pragmatism is revealed by Haja's two comments. Her comments imply that news reporting is focussed on conflict and 'bad things' in order to render media stories interesting so as to improve sales. Interviewees' accounts could mean they felt that depiction of asylum seekers/refugees as a threat to public safety and British cultural values portrayed asylum seekers/refugees as "evil", or what the literature referred to as the 'folk devil' or cultural 'other'. However, one should be cautious of interviewees' interpretations because it might be that journalists are reflecting the views of their readership that British cultural identity is being threatened by incoming cultural identities. Haja seemed to imply that media constructions of negative identities would make it easier to attract a wider readership and sell newspapers, and therefore was financially motivated. This interpretation was backed by other interviewees:

The media just want to write a story that can be sellable (Alberto)

If an article is going to sell the newspaper, obviously they are going to do that (Leo)

[The UK media obviously sells the news by talking negative about us. That's how they make more money (Annie)]

The conflation of asylum-seeking migration and Islamic terrorism through Islamophobic racist and anti-asylum discourse, though missing in the studies of the 1990s, is supported by research elsewhere (Ejarvec 2003; Sales 2007). As already discussed in the literature review, through cultural 'othering', asylum seekers/refugees were occasionally depicted as Muslims who posed a threat to an 'imagined' 'Britishness' and its cultural values. Given that asylum-seeking migrants are from diverse ethnic, national and cultural identities, asylum seekers/refugees become a racialised category through 'labelling' (Finney and Robinson 2009: 401). Interviewees' perception of a racist and anti-Islamic undercurrent to media construction of asylum seekers/refugees was, therefore, plausible.

5.1.3 Professional ignorance & the ‘empathy deficit’

Some interviewees described much of the coverage as “simply ignorance” (Seth) and caused by professional slack of journalists who “just report without finding the facts” (Boyce), as embedded in the following excerpts:

I think that’s ignorance. For example, we are presented as bogus asylum seekers, but there is nothing like bogus asylum seekers. An asylum seeker is being known by the state, you cannot say a bogus asylum seeker.... As an asylum seeker is someone who has given himself to the state, the state recognises him as living here and that person cannot be bogus (Seth)

I think they [journalists] lack knowledge. They should not just look at things on the surface because not everyone is here and it is not like 80 per cent would like to go back home and live a happier life. So, it is really powerless for every one of us. It is not that we just want to come here (Lima)

Interviewees are saying in the above stories, as other theorists, that little attempt had been made by some journalists to represent the context of persecution that caused their asylum seeking (Khan 2012b; Sales 2007; Lewis 2005). Further, most interviewees felt that the persecution that asylum seekers/refugees faced, if they were to be deported, had also not been given due attention by journalists in their communication about the asylum issue. Interviewees said that the only exceptions were the few cases in *the Guardian* and *the Herald*. Most interviewees considered the oversight to be a result of media ignorance about their right to seek asylum under international humanitarian law (Khan 2012a). Interviewees also felt that such ignorance might explain the silence of the right wing media on the UK’s international obligation to host asylum seekers as Alberto explained:

All human beings in any society have a right [to seek asylum] when [in] trouble at home. Europe also had their own, say, for example you remember and millions of people were displaced and went all over the place: in Latin America they arrived in millions, the Scots arrived in their hundreds of thousands in Latin America; the British were all the time, the Germans, you name them every one in Europe and there are millions of them were found in Latin America, in Africa so they have to go where they have no body there, where they were very, very poor. And the governments there gave them land, gave them opportunities for them to succeed (Alberto)

Alberto’s comments should be viewed with caution. He argues that he has a right to asylum. However, he overlooked the fact that the state also has a right to refuse him asylum under its domestic and international laws. Alberto attributed media’s treatment to the structural change

in contemporary British society that is “individualistic” (Field notes 2007/2008), and what one could refer to as an ‘empathy deficit’. By this is meant interviewees’ perception that there has been a lack of solidarity with and empathy for asylum-seeking migrants among British citizenry including journalists. This view was particularly significant because Alberto was a refugee who had been in the UK for nearly three decades. This person said that even though there were continuities in the pattern of coverage from the 1970s when they sought asylum to the present, media representations of asylum seekers/refugees in contemporary Britain are far more inflammatory and biased. He went on to explain:

Again I wouldn’t say it is all rosy, but it was not as bad. Indeed there was an article I remember that was very nasty, very nasty, and this guy wrote very badly about us [in the 70s]. But I knew the Chileans, I knew the people who were here very well, and I know who are they, they were not perfect. But nowadays there is a lot of difference in society now. The society has changed. We are more individualistic nowadays and we don’t care about others around the world. We don’t want to be related to Africans, South Americans any more. We just want to be related to ‘us’ here. We have become more entrenched in our own thing. We don’t want to care about anyone outside any more (Alberto)

Alberto’s story could be interpreted to mean that social change in British society that “has become more individualistic nowadays” is partly to blame for the lack of empathy with “outsiders”, especially those fleeing persecution. It could also be read as meaning that anti-asylum stories have historically been a feature of UK media reporting. Another meaning might be that this continuity emanates from a lack of emotional connection between UK citizens and the asylum seeker-refugee outsiders, which suggests that journalists are part of and only reflecting social attitudes of the citizenry. In this case, journalists are not solely to blame. Britishness is therefore constructed as lacking empathy in contrast to right wing press depictions of Britishness as magnanimous that was identified in the media coverage of the 1990s. It should be highlighted that Alberto identified with the majority of British citizenry by using the ‘we’, suggesting a sense of belonging to the UK. In this instance, it might be to make a social evaluation of media and public attitudes to asylum seekers/refugees. This could be interpreted to mean he evoked the ‘we’ to differentiate and depict British citizens, as are journalists, to be complicit in the hostile treatment of the asylum seekers/refugee outside ‘other’. One can conclude that identifying with this British attitude and its national collectivity is suggestive of the spatial temporality of identities and forms of belonging or

membership. It also suggests that identity is fluid and can be mobilised in specific circumstances such as making social evaluations of others.

Interviewees' beliefs are not unique to interviewees, as other theorists have attributed the public hostility against asylum seekers/refugees to ignorance of the asylum condition by British citizenry (Lewis 2005). However, interviewees seemed to suggest such an observation was equally applicable to some media elites. In this case, and as the 1990's studies discovered, decades of asylum reporting have failed to improve the level of understanding of the asylum seeker/refugee condition among British citizens (Kaye 2001: 68). In addition, interviewees' beliefs that financial and racist motivations including 'Islamophobia' were to blame for much of UK media's negative coverage of asylum would suggest an inadvertent outcome of political reporting, more of which later in *Chapter 8*. Furthermore, like interviewees, theorists such as Pupavac argued that the decline of social solidarity has caused the alienation and an emotional disconnection of the professional and political classes from the 'ordinary man' (Pupavac 2008: 276). This lack of empathy in social relations and engagement among British citizens, in her view and those of interviewees, has been extended to migrants and refugees (Pupavac 2008: 276).

5.1.4 The 'Scottish' & community dimension to asylum reporting

The methodology chapter has noted that other studies conducted in Scotland had concluded that there was more positive coverage of asylum seekers in the Scottish press (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Wilson 2004). Barclay *et al.* also found that while community actors criticised the mainstream press for negatively reporting on asylum, there was praise for the community newspapers for their positive coverage (Barclay *et al.* 2003: 76). However, as stated earlier, these studies did not explore asylum seekers/refugees' views about community newspapers' treatment of them. This section is an attempt to generate knowledge in this area. Interviewees' accounts of positive reporting of asylum in community newspapers are one of the exciting and unexpected findings of this study. Another unexpected finding is that interviewees made a distinction between the Scottish and London angle to reporting asylum. Perceptions of the community press and the difference in asylum reporting in the Scottish and London newspapers in asylum seekers/refugees' identification with host society or an 'imagined' Britishness or Scottishness are poorly understood. Exploring this issue is particularly significant because, as others have noted (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Bowes *et al.* 2009)

and explored in the literature review, policymakers, community groups and refugee networks have directed efforts towards promoting positive images in the Scottish press reporting of asylum. Any finding on the positive role that any newspaper type would play in this respect has a potential to contribute towards this goal.

There was a general belief among many interviewees that the manner of reporting varies between Scottish and London newspapers, and that the Scottish press was prone to being asylum-friendly, a finding that was consistent with that of Bowes et al (2009). Marie and Seth explained:

Oh! My God! My God! The media, who destroy the lives of people, who destroy Diana's life. But fortunately there is some news that is good, *the Herald*, *the Daily Record*. *the Daily Express* are the worst for being against asylum seekers. *The Herald* say the truth, not like *the Daily Express* that say asylum seekers eat our donkey, our donkey (Marie).

To be fair, the media over here in Scotland is far more balanced. You can see the debate over asylum and immigration. You can see that in Scotland they have taken over a leadership role in terms of supporting asylum seekers in allowing them to stay. You can see how local communities are fighting for this, school teachers are coming out in support. It tells you that the tone is somewhat different to down South [England]...As you know the media is very influential in terms of policy setting at the executive level, be it at Scottish parliament or the UK parliament level. The way the media will write, people will read it and feedback either through their MSP or MPs or their local councillors who will go back to debate in the chambers in terms of legislation (Seth)

Marie seemed to suggest that media hostility is not only targeted at asylum seekers, but at other members of society, albeit with concrete outcomes for the victims (such as Diana) of the coverage. Seth's story is a reminder that there was a feeling among some interviewees that journalists could influence UK government policies on asylum. Nonetheless, there was a perception that the Scottish Government asylum policies towards asylum seekers/refugees were less hostile in comparison to those in England. Seth's view therefore was that the asylum-friendly policies of the Scottish Government would explain why Scottish press's asylum rhetoric and representations are less pejorative than those of the London press are. Seth attributed the favourable coverage in the Scottish press to public and political support for asylum seekers/refugees in the neighbourhoods they resided in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Some interviewees also cited campaigns like the treatment of children asylum seekers and 'dawn raids' by local residents to have influenced Scottish politicians and journalists to "tone

down” the anti-asylum rhetoric in Scotland. Interviewees’ views therefore seem to resonate with Sim and Bowes hypothesis, stated in *Chapter 3*, that the pattern of a positive coverage became prominent by 2005 because of the high profile protests at the forced removal of asylum seekers from Scotland (Sim and Bowes 2007: 743).

Although the media monitoring focussed only on the mainstream press, as *Chapter 6* will discuss, and the qualitative interviews were originally intended to focus on this, the majority of interviewees were keen to talk about community newspapers:

We have *the Pollok Post* as you see. It has done an excellent work in terms of asylum and refugees. You can see yourself even in the front page, it is about asylum seekers doing things in the community. even half a page allocated to us ...which would help to raise awareness and educate the local community..... (Seth)

Yes, in Nashwood we have one [community newspaper]. It is good. It gives you good news about the tenants; about housing, about everything, about repairs, they [journalists] ask you about the housing, and they report about it, if you have problem. It’s good. It’s every month (Taja)

[community newspapers] are very good because they put articles that help and show what is hidden about asylum seekers. They are showing what asylum seekers are doing in Pollock. They are close to the asylum seekers and the community. [They are] not far away like others [mainstream press] (Marie)

Interviewees implicitly make a comparison of the coverage between the community and mainstream newspapers. Interviewees felt community newspapers reported positively about asylum seekers/refugees including the good work that asylum seekers/refugees undertake in their neighbourhoods in contrast to much of negative reporting in the mainstream press. They also expressed the view that these community newspapers were more likely to publish their opinions (see *Chapter 6*). In addition, community newspapers, as *Chapter 7* will explore, provided coverage of asylum seekers/refugees’ social and cultural initiatives that generated a lot of positive publicity. Interviewees felt that the favourable reporting was because journalists were local residents and were therefore socially interacting with asylum seekers/refugees residing in the community. One can therefore hypothesise that journalists consider it their responsibility to avoid inflammatory coverage that would likely generate community tensions in their locality (Finney and Robinson 2008). It can also be suggested that the community press is likely to show flexibility to cover asylum seekers/refugees’ ‘voices’ and activities much more than the mainstream press. Another plausible explanation

for the favourable treatment of asylum seekers/refugees by community newspapers might be that such coverage is not driven by financial motives and circulation figures as claimed by this cohort to be the case with the mainstream press (see for instance, Khan, 2012b: 75; 2003). This is partly because community newspapers, in contrast to mainstream ones, mainly rely on funding from local authorities. Overall, interviewees claimed that the favourable coverage made them feel wanted, which helps in developing a sense of identification with their locality and Scotland.

Interviewees' positive experiences of community newspaper coverage confronts the proposition that some journalists are merely reflecting widespread opinions and attitudes of locals. The *a priori* assumption that media hostility implies that journalists anticipate or respond to views and reactions of their local readership might therefore be simplistic. From interviewees' accounts, some local residents articulated pejorative asylum discourse and behaviour that did not resonate with those of community newspapers in their midst. It can therefore be expected that given the opinions of interviewees of favourable coverage in community newspapers, journalists might not reproduce, communicate and re-circulate pejorative asylum stories even where their readers or local residents hold such opinions. In this respect, one should be mindful of the precariousness of apportioning blame on news media for influencing their readers and its capacity for reinforcing their beliefs and attitudes (Khan 2013). This area would benefit from further research with a view to developing an understanding on how living within or in proximity to a neighbourhood hosting asylum seekers/refugees impinges on journalists' reporting of the asylum issue. I did not undertake an analysis of the content of these community newspapers to test for the reality of interviewees' opinions as I did with the mainstream press. This gap needs to be filled by another study. Nonetheless, the positive coverage is particularly significant because, as others have noted (Barclay *et al.* 2003, Bowes *et al.* 2009) policymakers, community groups and refugee networks have directed efforts towards promoting positive images in the mainstream press' reporting of asylum. Any positive role that community newspapers would play in this respect has a potential to contribute towards this goal. It could therefore be hypothesised that community newspapers could act as facilitators of good community relations and asylum seekers/refugees' feeling of belonging to and identification with their neighbourhoods.

So far, interviewees' beliefs about mainstream media depictions as largely pejorative, which assigned them demeaning collective and racialised cultural identities, or what the literature referred to as 'folk devil' has been discussed. It has also been discussed that interviewees' believed that the hostility was varied among Scottish and London newspapers and this kind of coverage influence UK citizen's construction of asylum seekers/refugees in a way that would contribute to public hostility. The next section will now explore how these constructions and attendant public hostility were perceived to impact on forced migrants' belonging and identity formations.

5.2 Belonging & Identity Formations – Within the UK

A majority of interviewees said that negative media coverage, which they partly blamed for the racism and public hostility they suffered, contributed to their stigmatisation and social isolation. Many interviewees recounted their experiences of being victims of public hostility including racist behaviour from local residents:

I noticed that when you see children, they are young, 8 or 10 young children, and they start harassment, racial harassment, sort of. Why do they do that? Because they heard that from their own families, their parents...may be they think that the outsider, the foreigner come here and take their jobs. Several reasons for thinking like that. Part of it is the media. And the education, should be directed at these children that these people are human being... (Sha)

Like I said earlier on that, the media concentrate on all the negative things. For instance, a person who has never, like, interacted with an asylum seeker, if we are to go to Princes Street and meet one person and say: Excuse me. 'Do you know that I am an asylum seeker?', he would say: 'um.. What?!'. Why is that person so scared? Well, it is what they have heard. The media has published these things: these people [asylum seekers] are bad. These people are vampires, these people are like evil people, these people are like, you know, junkies. So it is like what is called Chinese whispers....(Hael)

In unpicking the above story, some issues that are pertinent to the literature should be borne in mind. It can be assumed that the theoretical accounts identified in the literature that asylum seekers/refugees perceived public construction of them as 'folk devils' or the 'outsider' or 'foreigner' to be plausible. Also plausible are theoretical and empirical accounts that asylum seekers perceived public attitudes to be framed by media stories (Stewart and Mulvey 2003: 34). These interviewees further highlight that asylum seekers perceived the hostile coverage as contributing to public ignorance of asylum as a humanitarian issue, which in turn was

responsible for the racism and hostilities against asylum seekers/refugees (Kaye 1998, 2001). Interviewees' comments are similar to those identified in other studies that found that asylum seekers/refugees in the UK blamed negative media representations for contributing to 'hate crime' and community tensions in areas of dispersal (ICAR 2004: Barclay *et al.* 2003). If interviewees' experiences are to be taken at face value, given that the use of reported speech accorded them credibility, then it could be suggested that despite over a decade (1990 to mid-2000) of high visibility of the asylum issue in media spaces, there has been a failure to improve knowledge of the asylum condition in the UK (see Kaye 2001: 67).

In addition to Hael's account above, interviewees recounted the public's mimicking of anti-asylum phrases in newspapers. These include hostile phrases such as: "go back to your country" (Seth); "why are you here, bogus asylum seekers" (Fiso); and "asylum seekers are swamping us, raping us, flooding us" (Tam), to highlight the prejudicial media coverage of asylum seekers/refugees. Interviewees' recounting of the public's mimicking functions as an 'authenticating' device. It also suggests that interviewees also constitute media audiences, and consume negative media stories. This is because the media anti-asylum rhetoric and vocabulary echoes the findings of previous studies, which will be tested for later. However, interviewees' accounts could be interpreted as mitigating the blame on locals for their hostile attitude and accusing the media to be the culprits for the hostility. One can also be critical and suggest that media anti-asylum rhetoric that was attributed to locals by interviewees implies that journalists also held these views as members of the locality. Journalists are therefore reflecting rather than shaping the perceived public attitudes and constructions of negative refugee identities, and therefore not solely culpable. Nonetheless, this suggests that interviewees felt that some parts of UK media are complicit in influencing public perception of who should belong or not belong to the UK and therefore should be entitled or not entitled to its magnanimity. It demonstrates the difficulty in establishing causality between the UK media coverage and public attitudes towards asylum seekers/refugees' membership of the community, an issue identified in the literature and research design chapters.

What are the perceived consequences of the media-generated public hostility for interviewees' forms of belonging and identity forming? Most interviewees expressed the view that negative asylum stories and attendant public racism and hostility caused them to feel stigmatised and to disown the refugee identity:

I think it affects honesty. It makes people lie. Because if I met somebody in the street and [they] said are you an asylum seeker? I would say no! So the representation stigmatises you (Hael)

No, no, nobody would like that – identify themselves as an asylum seeker or refugee, no. Simply because of that negativity. If a society or an institution or someone thinks of you negatively, and you want to be absorbed, integrate into society, you can't integrate easily, you can't feel comfortable (Leo)

The above quotes suggest that media coverage has consequences for asylum seekers/refugees. These include causing them to feel stigmatised, to conceal or reject the refugee identity and socially isolated. This finding concurs with others that found that asylum seekers/refugees would shed the refugee label and identity due to prejudice and negative treatment by the public and UK government policies (Shultz and Solomos 2004; Sales 2002). However, this study builds on Stewart and Mulvey (2010), among others to suggest that negative media depictions also played a part in this process, because interviewees perceived the public attitude to be framed by a media dynamic. Interviewees claimed that this made them to feel ashamed to participate in the life and activities of the locality thereby compounding their isolation and exclusion. More importantly, it builds on previous studies of Stewart and Mulvey (2010) to suggest a linkage between the perceived media-generated public views, stigmatisation, social isolation and social exclusion in asylum seekers' fragility of feelings of belonging to their neighbourhood, Scotland and the UK:

Most people ask you, the first question is: hey, how are you doing? Where are you from? – I am from Burundi. The next question will be – Why did you come here? – Why did you come here? – I am a student. – oh! Huh, I thought you are one of those asylum seekers. And you are talking about going to the library to look out for information maybe to get involved in things. How can you feel to belong? Hey, look at how you've been welcomed. It just puts you off. I thought it is the media (Elli)

Well, if you live in the same country and they [media] are pointing fingers at you, so really you feel as if you don't belong. You are really not wanted. It is depressing and have no sense of belonging to Scotland or UK (Boyce)

Do I feel hundred per cent as a British citizen or do I keep my own [Rwandan] identity? I can't. I don't see myself as a UK citizen and I don't feel accepted (Leo)

These extracts reveal the moral dilemma that interviewees struggle with in trying to develop a feeling of belonging to the UK and Scotland. Interviewees used rhetorical questions and

reported speech to express this dilemma and to validate their experiences, which suggest a number of interpretations. One way to unpick the above reported accounts is that Elli felt that his British interlocutor was questioning his right to be in the UK as an asylum seeker. It might also mean that even interviewees like Leo and Elli with British citizenship felt that some parts of the media can influence public attitudes on asylum seekers/refugees' right to belong in the UK, and that local residents are constantly reminding them of their outsider status and identity. Another interpretation might be that even those with British citizenship felt that parts of the indigenous white majority British citizens and UK media would not accept them as Scottish or British. Interviewees, however, came to conclude that it was parts of the media to blame rather than locals and that it was reasonable on their part not to develop identification with Scotland or the UK. Perceptions of media treatment as fuelling feelings that they "do not belong here" and "we are not welcome" (Leo), was partly responsible for the retention of many interviewees' homeland national identities as explored in *Chapter 4*. In this sense, UK media coverage amounts to a paradox: while the coverage has been associated with questioning and promoting ethnic minorities' ability to have a sense of belonging to and identification with Britishness, it incidentally serves as a driver for asylum seekers/refugees' transnational identities. Interviewees' beliefs about the media's role in depicting who belongs and does not belong resonate with the theoretical accounts of media as a citizenship forming institution discussed in *Chapters 1 and 2*.

There is another interpretation that is important to the sociological understanding of migrants' belonging and identity. Leo suggested that media constructions trigger a fragile identification with Britishness. This in turn led to him 'keeping' his Rwandan identity. These shifting positionalities imply that national identity is not 'fixed', but is fluid and has spatial temporality. It could also imply that feelings of belonging are shaped and expressed through interviewees' everyday social interactions in the locality. It is therefore important to employ a 'translocational positionality' frame that recognises that identity formations among migrants are relational, and time and space bound. Belonging like identity is therefore about membership and may be contingent on migrants' self-perceptions of attributions by locals of them, and how locals think they belong (Anthias 2008). In this case, Wood and King's (2001:2) proposition that the host country's media construction of migrants might influence public perception and attitudes towards migrants which in turn will condition migrants' experiences of inclusion-exclusion as plausible.

Interviewees felt that the stigma, isolation, racism and public hostility towards them that is precipitated by media depictions compounded what has been referred to in the literature as psychological or psychosocial problems (Tyler 2006; see also Pupavac 2008). Psychological or psychosocial problems refer to the trauma, stigma, social alienation, insecurity and suspicion that cause emotional and mental suffering (Zarowsky 2004; Gordon 2006: 5; Tyler 2006: 199). It made many interviewees “feel awkward”, “feel distress” (Romi), “sorry that [asylum seekers/refugees] are here”, “fed up” (Marie), “put [them] off as a person”, and “demoralised” and “even affects [their] mental health” (Dora). The narratives below would help to contextualise the psychosocial impact of media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees:

There was one time I was in the bus and one man was saying about asylum seekers that they are not good, the way the woman looked at me, the man looked at me just as he knows I am an asylum seeker, the way he looked at me, the way he talked to me, which I don't really liked at all, but it really hurt me so much that if I cannot forgive that woman for what she said (Romi)

You know the media make us sorry that we are here. We are fed up. Yes they break us, they demoralise us. And when I am in the bus and I read a bad article about us and see someone else, local people they are reading the same newspaper, I feel very shy; “Oh! They are reading and looking at me now. What do they think about me now? Because as always they are seeing we are like animals, we are not well educated (Marie)

These extracts further highlight that interviewees were very cautious in blaming locals directly for the hostility. Nonetheless, these stories suggest that some interviewees attributed too much significance to the media's ability to influence public attitudes. While the above suspicion of a media influence in some public hostile behaviour might be debatable, it at least suggests complicity of hostile coverage in compounding some asylum seekers/refugees' psychosocial trauma caused by political persecution in their homelands. It is therefore not surprising that Fiso felt as if “[they] ran away from one problem to come and face another” and only to “even end up in hospital”. Interviewees' perceptions are insightful in providing a window on the way media hostility can invoke fear among asylum seekers/refugees. While Tyler has noted that the configuring of asylum seekers/refugees in much of the media with ‘grotesque qualities’ can invoke fear, anger and disquiet among native or ‘host’ communities (Tyler 2006:199), there is more to be learned about the psychosocial impact of these representations on asylum seekers/refugees. My work will therefore add knowledge that such ‘grotesque’ depictions affect asylum seekers/refugees in a similar way to British citizens. It

also sheds light on how news media might compound asylum seekers/refugees' psychosocial afflictions in ways similar to the UK government's anti-asylum migration and citizenship policies (Tyler 2006). For example, Boyce spoke of the stigma she felt in disclosing to her children that she was an asylum seeker:

Now I tried to watch news with my kids and debate the [asylum] issue. For example, it took my children a long time to tell them that we are asylum seekers, to try to protect them, and debate the asylum issue and try to explain the asylum situation. And they would say: 'No! Mum, we are not asylum seekers. We don't look like asylum seekers'....So, I have to act as a commentator whilst watching the news (Boyce)

While Boyce's story revealed that negative coverage is a source for stigma and intergenerational tension among refugee families, the coverage presents opportunities for parents to talk about the asylum issue with their children (Khan 2013). Her story also suggests that the younger generation could be victims of media hostility by causing them construct asylum seekers, including their parents in liminal social identities. Boyce, therefore, considered it her parental responsibility to protect them from feeling stigmatised for being asylum seekers.

Interviewees' beliefs about the coverage would also account for some interviewees' prioritising Scottishness over Britishness. As already noted in the preceding chapter, other factors such as parenthood, residency, cultural and social connections with locals played a part in interviewees' identification with Scottishness over Britishness. These Scottish identity markers are similar to those identified among the broader population of migrants and British citizens in Scotland (Kiely 2001: see McCrone and Bechofer 2008)). In addition to these, interviewees claimed that the positive coverage of asylum in Scottish press including community newspapers in their neighbourhoods was a component factor in their identity forming:

It certainly affects your sense of belonging. You tend to wonder that the way things are being reported [in the London papers], you don't belong there [the UK]. It means you are not welcome. As you know, the media is very influential in terms of policy setting at the executive level, be it at Scottish parliament or the UK parliament level. ...You can see the number of legislation that has been passed only on asylum and immigration. It tells you the articles have made this area [asylum] more legislated than other issues (Seth).

Seth, rightly or wrongly, therefore, associated Westminster with England, an association that, together with perceptions of Scottish newspapers as asylum friendly might have contributed to his prioritising of Scottish over British national identity. Seth went on to say that he was “proud to see in partnership with the local [community] press, [and] the positive image it is reporting” facilitated his localised identity with his neighbourhood, which he extended to Scotland:

Well, Amadu...you know the Greater Pollok is just a subset of Scotland, of which Scotland is just a subset of the UK. I think for one, where you live locally is primarily very important because those are the people you interact with...(Seth)

Muslim interviewees who said they could be Muslim and Scottish or British, but prioritised a Scottish-Muslim over a British-Muslim identity attributed this to the negative coverage of asylum and its association with Islamic terrorism in the London press. Interviewees’ prioritising of Scottish might be out of loyalty to Scotland. It has been noted that ethnic minorities in Scotland who are British citizens have been noted to prioritise Scottish over British or English national identity as a marker of Scottishness and out of loyalty to Scotland (Hopkins 2007; Saeed 1999; Hussain and Miller 2002).

To conclude this section, some normative assumptions, which were identified in the literature, should be borne in mind. Firstly, the above would offer empirical support to theoretical propositions that the media has a potential to remind individuals of their place in the community or the nation (Jones 2006; Marvin and Ingle 1999). Some interviewees said the media made them feel as if they do not belong to the UK. Secondly, it can be hypothesised that powerful institutions such as news media can influence public attitudes to others and indirectly contribute to feelings of belonging and identity (see Jones 2006; Marvin and Ingle 1999). Interviewees, for instance, felt the public hostility they encountered made them feel unwelcome by some locals. It could be recalled that the literature review explored the debate about the linkage between British citizenship and issues around public hostility, racism, inequality and exclusion. In this context, it can be hypothesised that even where migrants are granted British citizenship through naturalisation, many experienced inequality, exclusion and racism that they blamed upon the negative coverage, which might condition migrants’ identification with a place (locality or the UK). However, the views of locals that are filtered through interviewees should be read with caution, and therefore these claims

would merit an empirical investigation among the broader UK population. Nonetheless, interviewees' self-perceptions were that UK media coverage contributed to the structural inequalities, sense of alienation and racism that hinders migrants' participation and identification with the mainstream and Britishness in ways similar to government policies (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 69):

...You remember when there use to be NASS and they used to hand over shopping vouchers...and if you go to TESCOs for example and you've got to spend £10, if you spend less than that, TESCO is not going to give you the change...its add to the stigma...(Leo)

It will support concern raised by others that granting British citizenship without addressing the causes of such structural inequalities and racism, in this case by parts of UK media, would produce second-class citizens (Kofman 1995; Powell 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010:18).

While talking about their beliefs about the coverage and its influence on their fragility of belonging and identity, interviewees also spoke of the ways they would like (especially their identities) to be depicted. The next section explores this.

5.3 'Folk Devils' & Self-Representations

This study did not initially set out to investigate interviewees' preferred form of representation. However, interviewees were keen to talk about it because of its perceived importance to debates about identity constructions. Interviewees' accounts of self-representation therefore grew in significance because while studies have focused on representations of asylum seekers/refugees as 'folk devils', particularly in media and political spaces, there is little empirical work to show how asylum seekers/refugees would prefer to be represented. An analysis of asylum seekers/refugees' preferences for media representation would provide us with an opportunity to learn how they construct their self-identities, and how these self-constructions contest dominant representations of them as 'folk devils' in parts of the UK media.

Interviewees would like to see journalists represent asylum seekers/refugees as victims of persecution on two counts: as victims of repressive homeland regimes and in the UK as victims of anti-asylum and citizenship policies. As will be discussed later, they felt this would

render the coverage balanced. The majority opinion was that they would prefer UK news media to represent asylum seekers/refugees as victims of political tyranny, which caused their flight to safety abroad to seek asylum. Some of the many emotional stories that captured the diverse experiences of persecution, trauma and suffering those interviewees were subjected to include:

I came after the bloody coup of 11 Sept 1973. I came from Lima, where the UN set up a programme for refugees, to bring out Chilean refugees to different areas of Europe. So the UK decided to take up three thousand to here, ... about 500 of us ended up in Scotland... (Alberto)

I was farming with my mother in a village in Nigeria – my boy friend and father wanted to use my child and myself as a sacrifice, and that's why I fled....I fled when I was pregnant because they said they are going to open my stomach and take the baby out... And the man took me from there to the UK (Romi)

There was minimal evidence to suggest that the prosperity and opportunities that the UK offered might influence the choice of asylum destination. Two interviewees only cited it as reason for seeking asylum. It shows that financial economics was not a key determining factor for asylum seekers, which the literature review identified to be portrayed in much of the anti-asylum press reporting and policymaking.

Many disclosed that they had to flee using clandestine means including being “smuggled” (Taja), without passports or proper identification documents among other perils. All interviewees resented media's failure to reflect these inhumane contexts of asylum-seeking, adding that “being smuggled” was instead given prominence in portraying asylum seekers as “criminals” and asylum as “illegal” (Taja) and a façade for economic migration. Interviewees felt that their inability to produce identity documents, particularly passports, and using “human traffickers” [and] “smugglers” (Boyce) to escape to the UK is further evidence of some journalists' ignorance of the exigencies of political persecution. Interviewees were therefore suggesting that the lack of refugee voices was partly to blame. Media's failure to contextualise forced migrants' use of clandestine identity documents to seek safety abroad echoed those of others that have argued that such coverage were aimed at ‘dehistoricising’ asylum seekers/refugees' motivations for flight (White 2004: 289).

As evident in this thesis, while most interviewees associated political persecution in homelands as “the worse, which can kill you” (Sha), many felt they faced a second wave of persecution in the UK. As already mentioned, persecution in the UK was attributed to government policies that treated them as “second class or even third class citizens” (Sha). The overwhelming feeling was that any victim or humanitarian context in their representation should include their mistreatment and social exclusion in the UK. Interviewees’ descriptions of British government policies on asylum as “heartless”, “inhuman”, and “wicked” (Hael), among others were abundant in the data. As noted above, the dominant perception was that these policies contributed to their continued persecution and psychosocial trauma in the UK.

Most interviewees would like the UK media to depict asylum seekers/refugees as capable of what the literature referred to as agency. Agency is used here to refer to the individual capacity to make and carry out decisions and actions (Gordon 2006: Barclay *et al.* 2003). Most interviewees claimed that it was through their individual and in some cases collective agency that they became social actors and ‘responsible’ members of British society:

There can be good things about asylum seekers contributing to the country’s economy, but they [media] wouldn’t mention that (Lima)

At times I say why don’t they [media] write about asylum seekers who do voluntary work? They do many things in this country. Why are they writing just the bad things? Never you find the good things about asylum seekers (Marie)

We volunteer all the time, why can’t they talk about it? We do good work...you understand, its me helping people. Contributing, you know (Fiso)

We could have done so much if only the government accepted our qualifications from back home (Lima)

Amadu, people work. Most of the people I know from my country, they hate living on benefit, believe me. They would like to be able to work...but the general reporting is that asylum seekers are taking people’s jobs, they are taking money, they are more of a problem to society than help (Leo)

These extracts suggest that there is lots of positive work that asylum seekers/refugees undertake that could be reported about, but which interviewees felt had been scantily covered in parts of the media. While interviewees undertake paid work, they argued that these are jobs that British citizens would not do. In this sense, interviewees portray a contrasting image

of hard working asylum seekers who are contributing to society against that of “scroungers” that is portrayed in much of the coverage. Interviewees therefore would prefer journalists to report the government’s failure to tap these resources by giving asylum seekers/refugees opportunities to be employed in the labour market. This could be read as interviewees preferring the media to contextualise their so-called ‘dependency’ on social welfare to reflect government policies that precluded them from paid employment. One can therefore propose that interviewees felt that contextualising their ‘dependency’ as caused by government policy that precluded them from being employed would mitigate the representation of asylum seekers/refugees as lacking ‘responsibilisation’ and failing to perform citizenship duties, echoing Sales’ view (2007). Asylum seekers/refugee agency, in this sense, contrasted with media representations of asylum seekers/refugees’ agency in “reprehensible acts” (Leudar *et al.* 2008: 188).

In order to facilitate better access by British citizens to public knowledge about the complexities of asylum, interviewees suggested that the media should represent their diverse individual identities (including national). Journalists should also report on asylum seekers/refugees’ experiences of persecution in their homelands, and their disenfranchisement and exclusion from social citizenship in the UK:

I think the press, should note that an asylum seeker is a human being. That not all asylum seekers are bad. That some asylum seekers have got skills. Right....You are just put in one blanket. It is prejudice because all what they say about asylum seekers is not correct. Every individual is a unique individual. We’ve all got the right minds whether in our own conscience to do good from bad. But not everyone is bad. It is not all asylum seekers, for instance I am not getting any benefit, I am not a burden to society (Hael)

I am a human being with a culture behind, with sentiment and my identity is about my experience, about everything, about love and hardship...(Alberto)

The quotes are a reminder of interviewees’ pragmatic view that some media stories may have some basis because there are good and bad asylum seekers among them. However, they are asking for media depictions to be contextualised to reflect these individual experiences, suggesting that identities are translocational and complex rather than static. Interviewees felt this is possible if journalists were to elicit their opinions. They said journalists should provide them with a platform to tell their stories, “to provide them a voice”, “to stand up for people

like them and take their plight seriously” (Ma), and “speak their language” (Alberto), a metaphor for understanding their plight from their perspective:

I’ll say to [journalists]: Go close to [asylum seekers]. Know what they are feeling in their minds. Know what they are passing through before you pass judgement, not sit down in your house and say bad things about asylum seekers (Romi)

Many said that they were averse to contributing to media coverage of the asylum issue due to a perception that the media would misrepresent their views anyway, and that there was a stereotypical narrative of “asylum seekers/refugees as bad people” (Hael). However, many felt they would be empowered to engage with journalists if this negative stereotypical representation were to change. By empowered, I mean the contribution of the media to motivate individuals to participate in debating, contesting and informing media asylum stories and government policies. The overall feeling was that this is significant, given the fact that asylum seekers/refugees were the object of such reporting and policies. Four interviewees, two females and two males, who have been involved in projects to improve media’s positive coverage of asylum, expressed the view that journalists had not exploited their numerous attempts in providing contacts and organising interviews between journalists and asylum seekers/refugees. As discussed in the introduction and literature chapters, the lack of a victim-perspective in media’s communication of the asylum issue has been blamed for asylum seekers/refugees’ mistrust of journalists leading to a disinclination to give press interviews (Smart *et al.* 2007, Buchanan and Grillo 2003). However, some interviewees seemed to contradict this view as they said they were willing to have directly a dialogue with journalists to counter the misrepresentation of their plight. As these interviewees put it:

...there are [asylum seekers] who like myself are willing to take on this [media] and challenge them”. But there are people who don’t care.... The media should speak to [asylum seekers] straight away, and report very carefully. Give the facts (Leo)

Some of them [newspapers] no matter how logical you are, some of them no matter what you say to them, how convincing, from the beginning they will reject you. I did speak to such people in the media whom I am sure they agree with my view point, but were against you because of my race...(Sha)

Go close to them [asylum seekers]. Know what they are feeling in their minds, you know what they are going through before you pass judgment..don’t judge them (Romi)

The media should try to get to know them [asylum seekers]. And I am sure there are a few who have problems, but should not include everyone else (Haja)

The media should change their language, should speak the truth, because it is them who have the responsibility to change the mentality of the Scottish people (Fiso)

The consensus from the previous comments is that journalists should include the viewpoints of asylum seekers in their coverage. While some interviewees acknowledged that some asylum seekers/refugees are questionable, they said that media should strive to be objective in its reporting. It might be argued that interviewees have a twentieth century view of journalism: it should be balanced, impartial and objective (Pietkainen and Dufva 2006: 214). This is especially given the fact that in contemporary UK, except for the broadcast media, the press is not expected to be impartial. Nonetheless, interviewees blamed the lack of objectivity and impartiality on media failure to represent the diverse experiences of asylum seekers/refugees. Furthermore, interviewees widely believed that objective and balanced reporting of the individual and diverse accounts of asylum seekers/refugees might minimise the stereotypes or “lumping together” (Hael) or representing them as “numbers or statistics” (Ma). Interviewees felt this would minimise media misrepresentations or labelling of them as “scroungers” (Alberto), “spongers”, “junkies”, “evil”, (Hael) “bogus asylum seekers”; “economic migrants and here to take their [British citizens] jobs” (Alberto); and as “worthless or useless” (Ma) individuals. It would also eradicate the “scaremongering” (Hael) and inaccuracies.

Interviewees’ accounts are also significant in critiquing the media as a citizenship forming instrument particularly in facilitating democratic participation and social inclusion of marginalised communities of society (Pajnik 2005). Like Pajnik (2005), interviewees perceived media’s moral imperative is to shape their audiences’ image of the world. However, interviewees’ perception was that parts of the UK press had abdicated this responsibility by communicating and shaping a misconception of asylum seekers/refugee identities among the public. Similar calls have been made by policy, news media and asylum-supporting networks as already discussed in the literature review (see *Chapter 2*). Interviewees therefore said responsible journalism is a prerequisite for educating or “change the mentality of the Scottish people” or the public about asylum seekers/refugees. Interviewees therefore would prefer the media to represent asylum seekers/refugees as having

diverse identities, experiences and agency. In this sense, interviewees' fears echoed those of theorists that without commitment to combating institutional and everyday racist practices, which interviewees perceived to be evident in parts of the UK media, ethnic minority migrants would be relegated to second-class citizens (Stewart and Mulvey 2010).

5.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored the strong feeling among some interviewees that parts of the UK press reporting mainly assign asylum seekers/refugees pejorative cultural identities and liminal social status in their own minds and those of British citizens. Interviewees blamed this for their psychosocial trauma (stigmatisation, insecurity, isolation), which perpetuates structural inequalities and social exclusion among asylum seekers/refugees. Interviewees also blamed media's treatment for the cynicism among some British citizens about the right of asylum seekers/refugees to belong to the UK. These in turn, are believed to hinder their feelings of national belonging to and national identity with the UK in ways similar to the government's policies, as identified in the literature (Tyler 2006: 199; Sales 2007: 5). In addition, it caused some to disown the refugee identity. This finding suggests that psychosocial trauma suffered by asylum seekers/refugees continues to be a real experience of asylum seekers/refugees in the contemporary western state (see Pupavac 2008).

Nonetheless, the chapter has explored the perception of a favourable asylum coverage in the Scottish press, particularly the community newspapers, as opposed to the UK mainstream press, which contributes to asylum seekers/refugees' prioritising a Scottish identity over British. This is an unexpected and original contribution of this study, which might have benefits for promoting positive images of the asylum issue in local communities. These insights will address the lack of empirical work on the perspectives of Scotland-based asylum seekers/refugees, as non-citizens of media communication, to inform policymaking and theorising on mediated belonging and identity and the media's role as a citizenship forming institution. Another finding that is revealing is that while previous studies in Scotland have identified the difference in coverage between Scottish and London newspapers, none has explored asylum seekers' views of this issue and its importance to identity forming. It has been suggested that expressing a preference for a Scottish identity over British, may be explained as a reaction and resistance to perceived dominance of anti-asylum stories in

London newspapers. It might also be out of loyalty to Scotland because of personal friendships, support and values interviewees share with locals. The findings did not establish 'direct' media influence. However, they suggest that media have outcomes for asylum seekers as a subordinate group of migrants and that identities "are mobilised in different and in response to different events" (Gillespie 2007: 258). While parts of the media coverage are widely believed to represent an 'imagined' Britishness, at the same time it strengthens some interviewees' transnational belonging and identities. Interviewees therefore contest and mobilise their identities in response to this context of media hostility.

One of the significant contributions of this study in generating interviewees' own explanations and interpretations of media's treatment of them and the ways they would like to be depicted have also been considered. Their preferred forms of representation might facilitate a feeling of belonging and identity with a Britishness that is promoted in government policies. However, it was highlighted that interviewees' accounts of locals' attitudes should be cautiously received and that it would be insightful if empirical investigation is conducted among the wider public to test these claims. The next chapter will now test for the reality of interviewees' accounts of the coverage among a sample of UK newspapers.

EXPLORING INTERVIEWEES' PERCEPTIONS OF ASYLUM REPORTING

It is worth reiterating that this study is not trying to replicate a full-scale media analysis. As stated in *Chapter 3*, following Bowes *et al.* (2009: 31; see also Barclay *et al.* 2003), the media monitoring was to provide the context of asylum reporting at the time of interviews. It also enabled a basic assessment of interviewees' perceptions of media coverage including constructions of asylum seekers/refugee identities. However, the monitoring revealed unexpected results that adds to the significance of this study, and therefore worth highlighting. These include media depictions of negative refugee identities as an example of what is described in the literature as 'new racism'; differences in the coverage between 'Scottish', 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Fleet Street' newspapers; and the continuities in much of UK newspapers' ignorance of asylum seekers/refugees as a humanitarian issue. It is therefore suggested that there continues to be ignorance of asylum among politicians and the public despite the newsworthiness of asylum since the 1990s as postulated by Kaye (2001: 67). It also revealed evidence to suggest that Sim and Bowes (2007: 743) assumption that the "high profile protests at the forced removal of asylum seekers from Scotland have led to more positive media coverage of asylum seekers" may be plausible. The media analysis will therefore help us to understand media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees and the context from which forms of belonging and identity are mobilised, imagined and evoked by and among asylum seekers/refugees. This will help to inform consideration of the hypothesis that media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees have outcomes for the subjects of news reporting including the way they responded to the coverage and their belonging and identity formations.

The chapter has two sections. The first considers some of the themes and metaphorical language used in the representation of asylum seekers/refugees. The second explores how journalists in the reporting of asylum seekers/refugees use other discursive strategies. As explained in *Chapter 3*, the analyses of the thematic and discursive representations are informed by interviewees' meanings of the coverage and the literature on the media coverage of the asylum issue.

6.1 Thematic Representation & the ‘Folk Devil’ Asylum Seeker

One out of six themes was associated with a positive portrayal of the asylum issue, that of children asylum seekers (see Table 1 below). In all, ninety-eight terms and phrases were identified. Sixty-two of these were assessed to be hostile or anti-asylum, and negatively represented asylum seekers. They were assessed as ‘hostile’ or negative because the terms or labels were either pejorative in their context of usage relating to asylum seekers/refugees or inaccurate because the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) has barred their use. Terms were also considered as inaccurate because British law had not proscribed asylum seeking (Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Smart *et al.* 2007). Examples included terminology like ‘bogus’, ‘would-be’ and ‘failed’ to prefix asylum seekers and refugees. In contrast, the same analysis identified twenty-six terms and phrases as asylum-friendly. Terms may appear at face value to be hostile or non-hostile; however, their categorisation as asylum-friendly and anti-asylum took into account the context of their usage in the article.

TABLE 1: A summary of metaphors and themes

Metaphors	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chaos - Arithmetic/Numerical - Incentive - Largesse - Hardship - Criminality - Escape - Military/Brutality - Insinuation - Growth - Communality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Criminality - Deportation - Administrative incompetence & policy failure - Asylum ‘amnesty’ - Financial cost of the asylum system - Children asylum-seeking

A large proportion of newspapers focussed on reporting crimes that asylum seekers/refugees committed or allegedly commit. They focussed on the conviction, the arrest and legal proceedings against asylum seekers/refugees for crimes including rape or other forms of sexual assault; identity and welfare benefit fraud; drug dealing; violence and lawlessness; and working illegally. Representing asylum seekers/refugees as perpetrators of criminality was more commonplace in the anti-asylum right wing ‘Fleet Street’ newspapers and their ‘Scottish editions’ of *the Sun*, *the Express*, *the Daily Mail*, and *the Daily Telegraph* than in the asylum-friendly ‘Scottish’ newspapers. Much of the coverage represented three types of

criminal conduct that newspapers ascribed to asylum seekers/refugees: fraud, violence and perceived illegal immigration acts. References to asylum seekers/refugees were often, in these contexts, prefixed by the term ‘bogus’, and used to represent asylum seekers/refugees as perpetrators of two types of fraud, namely; ‘identity fraud’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Mail* – February 23, 2008) and ‘welfare fraud’ (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Sun* – September 20, 2007). For example, labels such as ‘bogus refugee’ (*the Daily Mail* - January 12, 2008), ‘bogus asylum seekers’ (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail* - January 12, 2008 and *the Daily Express* – February 22, 2007), ‘bogus arrivals’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Mail* - January 13, 2008), ‘bogus asylum claims’, (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Sunday Telegraph* - December 16, 2007) ‘bogus identity’ (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Sun* – September 20, 2007) and ‘forged paperwork’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Mail* - December 18, 2007) were used to describe identity fraud. Labels such as ‘asylum cheat’ and ‘swindle’ in *the Sun* – September 20, 2007 (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions), were used to describe ‘welfare fraud’.

‘Metaphorical’ phraseology was also used in this regard. These include ‘claims without merit’ and ‘unfounded claims or applications’ in *the Sunday Telegraph* – December 16, 2007, to describe ‘identity fraud’; ‘those cheating the system’ and ‘conned benefit staff’ in *the Daily Mail* of January 12 and ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of January 26, 2008 respectively, to portray asylum seekers as committing ‘welfare fraud’. Depicting asylum seekers/refugees as perpetrators of ‘identity fraud’ often failed to take into account the nature of asylum-seeking that compelled asylum seekers/refugees to escape persecution by ‘clandestine’ means including using fake identities (‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail* of January 23, 2008). The theme of asylum seekers/refugees as perpetrators of violent crime and a threat to community safety was conveyed through labels such as ‘asylum/refugee rapists’ (*the Scottish Sun* – December 20, 2007), ‘sex offenders’, ‘law-breaking’, ‘enraged mob’ and ‘rioters’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Mail* - December 22, 2007; February 23, 2008 and *the Scottish Daily Mail* - December 21, 2007). Journalists ascribed the labels to asylum seekers/refugees facing trial or convicted of ‘sexual assault’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Sun* – October 31, 2007) and ‘violent or destructive behaviour’ (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Sunday Express* – December 23, 2007; also *the Scottish Daily Mail* - January 25, 2008).

Parts of the press also depicted asylum seekers/refugees as being in violation of immigration and work restrictions, which were reported through negative labelling. Examples included the use of the prefixes ‘failed’, ‘bogus’ and ‘illegal’ to ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘refugees’ as mentioned above. The term ‘overstayer’ was also used in this respect in the ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Sunday Express* – December 23, 2007 and *the Daily Mail* – October 15, 2007 (also *the Scottish Daily Express* – February 5 & 7, 2007; ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *Mail on Sunday* – December 2, 2007; *the Scottish Daily Mail* – January 25, 2008). ‘Refused’, ‘returned’ and ‘rejected’ were also used as suffixes to ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘refugees’ to depict those whose asylum applications were unsuccessful. Further, phraseology such as ‘working illegally’, ‘people found entering the country illegally’ and ‘those smuggled into Britain’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Mail* – January 13 & ‘Scottish’ editions of 26, 2008), were used to depict asylum seekers as committing employment and immigration crimes, and to convey their desperation to reside in the UK. These acts were further reinforced through hardship metaphors such as ‘sleeping rough’, ‘living in poverty’, and ‘entering the UK by crossing the Channel Tunnel’ either on foot or by ‘hiding under lorries’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Sun* – January 4, 2008; ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail* – October 2, 2007). The hardship metaphors conveyed the suffering that asylum-seeking migrants endured, and were instrumental in the anti-asylum press’s construction of irresponsible behaviour and actions of asylum seekers that put them and the public at risk as this excerpt shows:

[They] Play a nightly cat-and-mouse with the police as they try to get across the channel. [*the Daily Mail* – ‘Fleet Street’ edition, January 7, 2008].

Representations of asylum seekers/refugees as a financial burden and a liability to the taxpayer, and the huge financial costs associated with the government’s asylum system, featured prominently. For example, the provision of legal aid for asylum seekers/refugees to contest court cases, particularly criminal charges, and to appeal against the Home Office decision to refuse them asylum was depicted mainly as a financial burden to the British taxpayer rather than a prerequisite for justice. Other financial incentives to encourage asylum seekers to opt for voluntary repatriation and hiring chartered flights for those evading deportation were also reported as a ‘waste of taxpayers’ money’ (‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Telegraph* – December 16, 2007). The financial support was caricatured through ‘incentive’ metaphors as ‘a soft-touch approach’, ‘asylum seekers’ cashing in’, ‘smacks of

rewarding criminality' and 'an incentive for bogus claims' (Scottish and 'Fleet Street' editions of *the Daily Mail* – October 2, 2007), and 'a bribery for failed asylum seekers' (*the Scottish Daily Express* – February 5, 2007). The reader was therefore told that the overall cost of policies to deport or support asylum seekers in line with human rights requirements was running into 'tens of thousands' or 'tens of millions' ('Fleet Street' edition of *the Sun* – December 13, 2007), among other numerical metaphors. The effect of this inflammatory metaphorical depictions in parts of the anti-asylum press was to communicate a misleading message of the asylum system as being exploited, a burden on the taxpayer and Britain as a 'magnet for asylum seekers' (*the Scottish Daily Mail* – October 2 & 15, 2007 and also December 2, 2007). These papers argued that deportation was a cheaper financial option that would save the taxpayer huge amounts of money that was incurred in the up-keep of asylum seekers/refugees and in meeting human rights requirements during incarceration. UK government and National Lottery's grants to organisations providing support to asylum seekers/refugees were also derided as a 'waste of taxpayers' money' in Scottish and 'Fleet Street' editions of *the Daily Mail*, *the Sun* and *the Daily Express*, even though these grants would improve service provision and support for asylum seekers/refugees. For example, *the Scottish Daily Mail* of January 10, 2008 criticised National Lottery grants to the Scottish Refugee Council and the Strathclyde Police Service work with asylum seekers/refugees.

Although the asylum-friendly Scottish newspapers such as *the Daily Record*, *the Evening Times*, *the Evening News* and *the Herald* and the 'Fleet Street' newspapers (*the Mirror* and *the Guardian*) reported on asylum criminal cases, the stories were not as inflammatory as those by the anti-asylum press were. For example, while *the Scottish Sun* of September 20, 2007 used sensationalist language such as 'asylum seeker beast' to report a rape conviction and to call for his deportation, *the Scottish Mirror* of September 20, 2007 was more factual and innocuous in its reporting of the same issue. In addition, these papers in contrast to the mainly anti-asylum London titles largely depicted asylum seekers/refugees as 'victims' of government policies and of criminality rather than 'perpetrators' of crime. For example, they reported cases of asylum seekers as victims of racist attacks, labour exploitation and forced prostitution, depicting these as emanating from hostile government policies. *The Guardian* criticised the 'inhuman' asylum policies in metaphors of hardship such as 'faceless and heartless', 'atrocious barbarism' and 'increasingly harsh legal system' to which asylum seekers are subjected (*the Guardian*, December 19, 2007 & January 16, 2007). *The Herald* of

October 14, 2007 also reported the racist attacks and the sexual and labour exploitation that asylum seekers/refugees suffer as a result of government policies.

The predominance of anti-asylum stories in the 'London' as opposed to the 'Scottish' newspapers does not imply that the former did not carry less hostile or positive asylum stories. However, such positive coverage was related to human interest stories. For instance, the 'Scottish' edition of *the Sunday Telegraph* of December 23, 2007 and *the Scottish Sun* of December 20, 2007 reported the arrest and detention of children asylum seekers as 'morning raid' or '4 am raid' respectively. Both papers were critical of the detention and there was a striking contrast in tone of language used against the immigration officials who carried out the arrest. For example, the 'Scottish' edition of *the Daily Telegraph* of August 4, 2007, which provided an innocuous coverage of the 'dawn raids', was relatively less hostile in tone. In the 'Scottish' and 'Fleet Street' editions of *the Daily Mail* of January 10, 2008, there was an absence of the pejorative and inflammatory language in the coverage of the Burmese children asylum seekers living in Shetland that the anti-asylum press often deployed against other asylum seekers awaiting or contesting their deportation. Journalists used neutral language in its coverage of this issue. The reader was told that the boys: "faced being sent back" rather than being "booted" and "kicked out" if their appeal against deportation had failed (*the Scottish Daily Mail* – January 10, 2008). They were not referred to as "failed asylum seekers" or "living here illegally" as in previous publications by the same press of other asylum seekers awaiting deportation, but as "adopted sons" who had acquired British education and the English language. As explained in the *Chapters 1 & 2*, the acquisition of the English language is regarded as prerequisite for Britishness and symbols of British national and cultural identity. It is therefore unsurprising that the less hostile coverage was strikingly evident in both 'Scottish' and 'Fleet Street' editions of *the Daily Mail* of February 5, 2008. This edition also provided less hostile coverage of the Scottish Government decision to provide financial assistance for English language lessons for migrants, including asylum seeker children. Although this publication derided the decision as "SNP policy to give asylum seekers new rights for their children to stay on at school", the newspaper was cautious in its use of prejudicial language as had been the case with previous coverage of government policies. The coverage of children in the 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Fleet Street' was therefore similarly to that of 'Indigenous' Scottish press. For example, *the Daily Record* of February 11, 2008 did not only report on the 'dawn raids', but derogatorily described

immigrations officials who carried out the raid as ‘child catchers’. *Scotland on Sunday*, the sister newspaper of *the Scotsman*, which had less asylum stories than all the Scottish newspapers monitored, had a positive coverage of asylum seeker children. It provided a neutral and yet factual coverage of government plans that would subject suspected ‘bogus [asylum seeker] children’ entering the UK to dental X-ray examination to determine their age (*Scotland on Sunday* February 18, 2007).

Other positive coverage of ‘human interest’ asylum stories was also identified in the usually anti-asylum editions of the London papers. *The Daily Telegraph* and *the Daily Express* supported campaigns against the deportation of a terminally ill Ghanaian woman asylum seeker on compassionate grounds. However, the anti-asylum press’s support against the deportation of an asylum seeker was discursively framed as consistent with British cultural values of compassion, humanity and magnanimity. For example, a columnist in both Scottish and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Sunday Express* with the headline ‘Sent back to die in Ghana’ wrote: “Normally, I am strongly in favour of deporting over-stayers, but this case is different. Ms Sumani is terminally ill...her deportation is, therefore, effectively a death sentence...” and went on to say “the strict controls should be tempered with humanity” (Neil Hamilton, *the Sunday Express* – January 20, 2008). In addition, an earlier edition of this newspaper had a lengthy feature that provided a positive coverage of the support provided by the Medical Foundation – (MF) for asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow (Scottish edition of *the Sunday Express* - January 6, 2008). There was also a positive story in support of a male homosexual and a male footballer asylum seeker whose appeal for asylum was supported by anti-asylum and pro-asylum newspapers.

A few reasons could be tendered to explain the positive coverage in the usually anti-asylum ‘London’ newspapers. As I stated elsewhere (Khan 2012b), these are ‘human interest’ stories that are likely to evoke public empathy and emotional connection with a section of society that is associated with vulnerability relating to childhood, sexual orientation and ill-health, which are beyond human control. The support for the footballer might be because his profession is associated with celebrity status and financial independence in contrast to media stereotypical depictions of asylum seekers as scroungers and welfare dependents. The positive coverage in the London newspapers might be due to public outcry and the high profile and cross-party political campaigns in Holyrood against asylum seeker children detention,

destitution and ‘dawn raids’. This might explain why *the Scottish Daily Express*, which is usually opposed to the recognition of asylum as a human right, provided a lengthy positive coverage of asylum seekers as victims of human rights abuses. The coverage coincided with a weeklong campaign (between 19th January – 26th January 2008), to raise awareness of the plight of Glasgow asylum seekers as victims of torture that was organised by the Medical Foundation – (MF).

Overall, it can be suggested that the negative depiction through pejorative language was dominant in the mainly anti-asylum London press (‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’) than in Scottish ones. For instance, out of the sixty-two anti-asylum pejorative terms and phrases, fifty-two were found to have commonly occurred in *the Sun* and *the Daily Telegraph*. This finding is consistent with previous studies of the 1990s/2000s and interviewees’ narratives that despite positive asylum stories in the asylum-friendly left-leaning press, negative portrayals exceeded the positive ones (Wilson 2004; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Buchannan and Grillo 2003). It also reflects interviewees’ beliefs in two respects: Firstly, the Scottish press is less hostile than the London one. Secondly, much of media depictions of asylum seekers as “evil”, “junkies”, “rapists”, “criminals” (Hael), as well as “second and third class citizens” (Sha) constitute ‘scaremongering’ or what the literature referred to as moral panic over asylum. One can therefore understand the context of asylum reporting from which interviewees’ perceptions was that much of UK newspapers depicted asylum seekers in racialised refugee identities. As explored thus far, media depictions of asylum seekers as the liminal cultural ‘other’ and a threat to the welfare system suggests scholarly concerns that hostile media reporting is imbued with ‘new racism’ as plausible (see Fear 2007: v; Barclay *et al.* 2003: 7; Wilson 2004). The re-narrating of asylum seekers’ ‘dependency’ might have also provided the context for interviewees’ beliefs that such depictions were aimed at making them “scapegoats” for societal malaise in Britain, particularly for anti-social behaviour, crime, for taking British jobs and so indirectly for rising unemployment (field notes, August 2007).

6.2 (Mis) Representing the Asylum Policy

This section discusses media's discursive formations including 'sensational headlines', 'statistical extrapolations', 'conflation', and 'policy-political reporting' in reporting asylum policies. These discursive strategies were identified in interviewees' accounts and in previous studies to be the main device used by journalists to communicate a predominantly anti-asylum message (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Smart *et al.* 2007). They were also identified in interviewees' stories to play a part in the ideological alignment between journalists and politicians (Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Smart *et al.* 2007), the lack of asylum seekers/refugees' voices in the reporting, the absence of humanitarian reporting (Sales 2007; Lewis 2005; Barclay *et al.* 2003; Buchanan and Grillo 2003; Smart *et al.* 2007), and racism (Finney and Robinson 2009; White 2004; van Dijk 2000). The media data was therefore examined with reference to these analytical categories and the ways in which they occurred in the reportage.

The following questions helped to interrogate the data: *How do UK newspapers communicate asylum policies to their readers? What form does the coverage take in relation to previous studies and newspaper types? How is the asylum issue used by journalists to construct Britishness or Scottishness?* The questions generated unexpected results relating to variations in Scottish and London newspapers' reporting of government policies on asylum. This may be attributed to the different applications of these policies by Scottish and UK Governments at the time of interviews.

For illustrative purposes, reference will be made to newspapers' reporting of three key asylum policies that dominated the newspapers analysed (see Appendix 4, Table 2). They were the 'right to appeal and legal aid', the 'legacy case review' and the 'voluntary assisted return' policies. The policy of 'right to appeal and access to legal aid' provided asylum seekers with the financial assistance to hire legal expertise, as is the case with ordinary British citizens. The extension of the right of access to legal aid to asylum seekers became central to media representation of the 'outside other' and the debate about citizenship entitlements. The policy was of huge importance, given that asylum seekers required legal aid to appeal and seek judicial reviews of government decisions to refuse them asylum and to contest deportations. The 'legacy case review' was aimed at fast-tracking outstanding asylum claims by prioritising such claims according to set criteria. The criteria included length of residency in the country,

in this case three years or more, and prioritised asylum seekers who had families or had ‘made roots’ in the UK (SRC 2007). The ‘voluntary assisted return’ policy provided a financial incentive to encourage asylum seekers, particularly those whose claims had been refused and were awaiting deportation, to opt for repatriation. These policies were selected for this discussion because they stimulated controversial media and political debates, and mirrored left/liberal-right politics. To provide a broader scope for analysing a Scottish/London dimension to the reporting, reference is made to the coverage of other Scotland-specific policies particularly the Scottish Government initiatives to attract inward migration and other key news events, including the media frenzy over the pending deportation of the ‘Shetland Burmese boys’.

6.2.1 Sensational headlining & conflation

The number of headlines that negatively depicted asylum seekers/refugees far outnumbered the positive ones, supporting Barclay et al findings (2003: 94). Examples included: ‘Asylum crisis...’ and ‘Asylum failure...’ in *the Daily Telegraph* (‘Fleet Street’ edition of *the Daily Telegraph* – October 14 & December 16, 2007), to depict ‘amnesty’ and ‘voluntary repatriation’ policies respectively; *the Sunday Express*’s (‘Fleet Street’ edition of December 23, 2007), ‘Asylum Blunder’ reported the Home Secretary’s apology to Parliament for providing misleading numbers of deported asylum seekers; and *the Scottish Daily Mail*’s – (December 2, 2007) ‘Soft-Touch Asylum Claim’ and ‘handout funds’ as well as *the Daily Telegraph*’s highlighting of ‘bribes’ and ‘amnesty’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition of December 18, 2007). These headlines communicated a negative picture of the ‘voluntary assisted return’ programme (see Appendix 4, Table 2). Further, there was prevalent use of metaphors of criminality in many headlines such as ‘asylum cheat’ and ‘refugee rapist’ in *the Scottish Sun* of September 20 and December 20, 2007 respectively and ‘illegals’ (*the Sun* – January 4, 2008; *the Daily Mail* - January 8 & 13, 2008) to describe asylum seekers/refugees who were accused or convicted of committing fraud, working illegally or evading deportation. Interviewees claimed the sensational headlines portray asylum seekers as ‘evil’, reflecting other studies (Barclay et al. 2003).

Sensationalism was also evident in the numerical metaphors that are used in the headlines. For example, in the story about the ‘legacy case review’ mentioned above, *the Daily Mail* headline claimed: ‘Amnesty for up to 165, 000 asylum seekers (‘Fleet Street’ edition of

December 18, 2007); *the Daily Telegraph* of the same date ('Fleet Street' edition of December 18, 2007) read: 'immigration amnesty for 160,000'. In contrast, *the Guardian* (December 18, 2007) headline cited only 19,000 as beneficiaries of the scheme. While it would be difficult to ascertain which figures were accurate, this at least shows that there was a discrepancy in the use of statistical figures in reporting on asylum policy. As others have argued, the discrepancy in the figures might be an indication of the differences in the magnitude of the sensationalism and misinformation in the reporting of asylum stories by all newspapers, whatever their political leanings (Bell 1999; Kaye 1998, 2001; White 2004). In addition, journalists deployed abstract hyperbolic language as in *the Daily Mail's* 'Soft-touch as hundreds simply disappear' ('Fleet Street' edition October 6, 2007); and the Scottish newspaper, *the Herald's* 'Asylum the new dawn; huge numbers of asylum seekers...' (October 7, 2007). This suggests two interpretations. Firstly, both asylum-friendly Scottish and mainly anti-asylum London newspapers deployed numerical metaphors in headlines to communicate their slant on asylum policies. Secondly, numerical metaphors were deployed in the mainly asylum-friendly Scottish and London newspapers to paint a less extreme picture of asylum seekers. Nevertheless, the use of numerical and criminal metaphors and hyperbolic language in headlines might have enhanced a sensational negative picture of the asylum system. It also reflects interviewees' opinion that the asylum issue had been blown out of all proportion in much of the reporting.

There was conflation through the mismatch between headline and narrative in some articles, an observation that was highlighted by interviewees. There was a tendency for headlines to highlight the story as an asylum seeker story, even when it was about other types of migration, and vice versa. For example, in reporting about the vagrancy of East European migrants in Glasgow, *the Scottish Daily Mail's* headline reads: 'Crime fears as failed migrants turn to begging' (October 15, 2007). Although the headline referred to 'failed migrants', the narrative referred to Poles and Romanians as 'failed asylum seekers', 'failed migrants' and as 'illegally living in Scotland'. Post 2004 Polish migrants had full rights of residency and no need to seek asylum. By so doing, *the Scottish Daily Mail* represented 'asylum-seeking' as a façade for people fleeing poverty and migrating into the UK to seek economic prosperity through paid employment or state benefit (see Kaye 2001; Clark and Campbell 2000; ICAR 2004: 9; Haste 2006: 328). In this regard, the issues of economic migration, EU migration, and illegal migration were conflated with asylum seeking, which

was a source of concern among most interviewees. They are an indication of journalistic ignorance that many interviewees felt to be partly to blame for the pejorative coverage and the stereotyping of asylum as financially motivated.

Conflation was mainly evident in the use of ‘affix-labels’ to describe asylum seekers and other migrants in articles that then went on to use these labels interchangeably. ‘Asylum seekers’ and ‘refugees’ were interchangeably used in both Scottish and London newspapers, even though UK law and policy made a differentiation of the two categories of asylum status. The synonymous application of the two terms was in turn extended to the use of the affix-labels such as ‘failed’, ‘bogus’ and ‘illegal’. For example, ‘failed asylum seeker’ and ‘bogus asylum seeker’ were used interchangeably with ‘failed refugee’ and ‘bogus refugee’ respectively, reflecting previous studies of the 1990s. These labels were in turn extended to terms like ‘illegal immigrant’, ‘economic migrant’ or ‘penniless migrant’ (‘Fleet Street’ edition *the Daily Mail* – January 26, 2008). Except in *the Evening Times*, this pattern of reporting was evident in all the Scottish and London newspapers monitored. Although this kind of conflation was found to occur in *the Guardian*, it was only evident in the readers’ letters. Besides constituting inaccurate terminology that was widespread, the conflation reflects interviewees’ opinions that these labels to be central to communicating a confusing distinction between an asylum seeker and a refugee.

There was also a practice of making a link between other government policy shortcomings and those of asylum. For example, ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail*’s November 21, 2007 article on the missing ‘child benefit records’ likened this bureaucratic incompetence to the Home Office’s chaotic asylum policies. In the article, the writer made a tenuous attempt to blame this saga on departmental lapses in implementing an effective asylum system. Some journalists blamed the Home Office for upholding human rights of asylum seekers as enshrined in EU Law, a policy that was not necessarily a creation of that department, but the instrumentality of the Foreign Office. In this way, the Home Office was represented as the embodiment of the administrative incompetence and to blame for the powerlessness of the government’s asylum policies to stem the rise in migration.

Overall, the use of numerical and criminal metaphors, hyperbolic language and conflation in headlines and narratives might enhance a sensational negative picture of the asylum issue. As

others have claimed the sensationalism might have conveyed the impression that the asylum system is in crisis with the government's failure to stem the large number of asylum seekers entering the UK or the removals of those awaiting deportation (Buchanan and Grillo 2003). It also suggests that interviewees' opinion that the asylum issue had been blown out of all proportion mostly by the London right wing newspapers through 'scaremongering' and 'scapegoating' is credible.

6.2.2 The 'number' & 'evidence' game in policy reporting

The media analysis revealed that overall, media reporting of asylum policies was characterised by the exaggerated use of spurious statistical extrapolations and sourcing, and not only evident in sensational headlines discussed above. As discussed in the previous chapter, asylum seekers/refugees accused journalists of 'sloppy reporting' in using statistics to sensationalise asylum stories and to create uncertainty about the numbers of those seeking asylum in the UK. The monitoring revealed that some figures quoted in the stories were exaggerated, inadequately explained and presented out of context, complementing the finding of Barclay et al (2003: 94-95). For example, *the Sunday Express's* story about the then Home Secretary Jacqui Smith's apology for providing incorrect figures on deportees to the House of Commons had a photograph with the caption: '20 failed asylum seekers per week are starting fights on planes to avoid deportation' ('Fleet Street' edition of *the Sunday Express*, December 27, 2007). The source of the statistics was not revealed, but seemingly related to the paper's claim in the article that 20 asylum seekers per week avoided deportation. If this claim were to be true, i.e. 20 deportations per week, this statistic did not imply that all 20 of them would seek to dodge deportation by 'starting fights'. In addition, the conjecture was that this number of 'failed asylum seekers' would remain the same on a weekly basis. Given the fact that the conjecturing was not made clear to the reader, the article could potentially mislead (see PCC Guidance 2004).

Both Scottish and London newspapers were complicit in using statistics to support their stance on asylum policies. For example, the asylum-friendly press, including *the Guardian* and *the Herald*, would use statistical data from the pro-asylum 'think-tanks' and pressure groups, such as the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR), The Aegis Trust, The Children's Commission, Positive Action In Housing (PAIH) and The Terrence Higgins Trust. On the other hand, London titles including *the Daily Mail* and *the Daily Telegraph*,

were more inclined to use sources such as Migration Watch and The Tax Payers Alliance that were associated with anti-asylum migration and anti-EU sentiments (Kearns 2004). The ideological alignment between newspaper, statistics and pressure group or ‘think-tank’ sources was also evident in the newspapers’ use of political sources (Kaye 1998). Direct and indirect quotes from the then opposition Conservative Party, which is traditionally associated with anti-immigration, were mainly evident in the anti-asylum London newspapers. It would sound whimsical to suggest that quoting the opposition party in the reporting of government policies was dubious, especially given the fact that the role of the press is to provide alternative points of view to a political story, which is a key prerequisite in political reporting. However, the analysis concurs with those of interviewees and others in that this reporting was unbalanced and that the anti-asylum press was predisposed to deploy the views of the then Conservative opposition rather than those of others who were pro-immigration (Smart *et al.* 2007). For instance, the difference in the use of sources is insightful in the Scottish dimension to asylum reporting. *The Scottish Daily Mail* of October 2 & 3, 2007 quoted the Taxpayers’ Alliance in reporting on Scottish Government support for amnesty for asylum seekers in Scotland. ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Express* of February 5 & 7, 2007 also quoted the Taxpayers’ Alliance together with Migration Watch and the Conservative Shadow Home Secretary and Immigration Minister in reporting the ‘amnesty’ and ‘voluntary assisted return’ policies. The views of influential Scotland-based refugee-supporting groups such as PAIH were notably absent in these stories. In the few cases where PAIH was quoted in *the Scottish Daily Mail* of October 15, 2007 and *Mail on Sunday* of December 2, 2007, it was to support the papers’ claim that ‘the streets of Glasgow are filled with destitute asylum seeker beggars’ and ‘sleeping rough’ respectively. PAIH’s advocacy for humane treatment of asylum seekers was not central to the newspapers’ reporting. It may be critical to suggest that ‘Fleet Street’ newspapers quote Westminster politicians because asylum-seeking migration is a ‘reserved area’ and that the Taxpayers’ Alliance rather than PAIH has a UK-wide remit. Nonetheless, this analysis suggests that by selectively using statistics and sources, both asylum-friendly and anti-asylum press portrayed government policies as counterproductive in some respects, and have failed to reduce the number of asylum seekers in the UK. Both agree too that policies had been a knee-jerk reaction to previous policy failures or aimed to pacify public opinion, and that policy debate is characterised by political point scoring. They differ, however, in that only the asylum-friendly press (including Scottish newspapers) attributed the

failure to the resilience of asylum seekers to survive rather than face persecution in their homelands.

Much of the reporting lacked a victim perspective in the communication of asylum policies, a practice that was more common in the mainly right wing ‘Fleet Street’ titles. On the few occasions where asylum seekers/refugees were quoted in these newspapers, it was in ‘human interest’ stories as already explained. In contrast, there was a visible asylum seeker perspective in most of the Scottish newspapers. For example, in representing policy failure, *the Sunday Herald* of October 7, 2007 carried three stories in the same edition based on the experiences of asylum seekers in relation to the benefits of the ‘legacy case review’ policy. Although the coverage was largely celebratory, the newspaper depicted the chaos in the implementation of this policy that might have excluded many asylum seekers from benefiting from it. The newspapers included views of asylum seekers claiming that they lacked interpreters during the interviews to assess eligibility, and, in the absence of privacy and confidentiality, rape victims found it difficult to divulge ‘sensitive information, often involving sexual violence in front of their children’ (*the Sunday Herald* – October 7, 2007). *The Daily Record* of August 8, 2007 and November 30, 2007 had a feature each about Iraqi interpreters and a former ‘Jihadist’ Taliban fighter’s views about their right to claim asylum in the UK. Other editions of this paper (June 11, 2007 and August 23, 2007) provided extensive coverage of how refugee families are resettling and working together with local communities. *The Evening Times* and *the Scotsman* also included the views of asylum seekers in reporting about the success made by the Scottish government in integrating asylum seekers, its opposition to child detention and deportation, and in combating destitution among asylum seekers. Of the ‘Fleet Street’ titles, *the Guardian* is more likely to feature the views of asylum seekers to criticise the inhuman asylum policies that abuse asylum seekers’ human rights, and to highlight their integration and contributions to community life. One can therefore understand interviewees’ claims that their ‘voices’ were hardly included in much of the reporting.

My analysis also found an under-explored, but interesting angle to a Scottish/London dimension to the reporting of asylum policies. Much of the anti-asylum London press tended to negatively frame the Scottish Government’s attempt to use the proposed UK Government’s asylum ‘amnesty’ policy to encourage asylum seekers to resettle in Scotland. Some of the

right wing ‘Fleet Street’ titles claimed that Holyrood’s plan will turn Scotland, other than England, into a magnet for ‘bogus’ and ‘failed’ asylum seekers. The plan was also framed as an example of how England is subsidising Scotland’s welfare. For example, both ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail* of October 2 and 3, 2007 reported that it cost taxpayers more than £2 million in 2006 to help immigrants including asylum seekers stay in Scotland. The paper derided the Scottish Government’s plan as ‘lobbying for an amnesty’ and an attempt by the governing SNP to ‘bribe’ asylum seeker children ‘to encourage them to stay on at school’ (*The Daily Mail* of October 2, 2007). The papers’ October 3, 2007 coverage went on to report that the plan amounts to an ‘immigration scam’. *The Mail on Sunday* (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of December 2, 2007) also derided the policy as Scotland throwing its doors wide open to thousands of bogus asylum seekers (see also *the Scottish Daily Mail*- October 15, 2007). These editions also linked this policy with another that offered asylum seeker children free university places to depict the First Minister Alex Salmond as giving ‘asylum seekers new rights’. *The Scottish Daily Express* of February 5 & 22, 2007 criticised the policy because ‘taxpayers are funding more than four thousand pounds a day to support failed asylum seekers who should have been kicked out of the country [UK]’. *The Daily Telegraph* (‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of August 4, 2007) not only adopted a similar view, but also derided the Scottish Government provision of free university tuition for asylum seeker children as an example of England subsidising Scotland. In reporting Holyrood plans to gradually phase out free prescription in Scotland, both ‘Scottish’ and ‘Fleet Street’ editions of *the Daily Mail* of December 6, 2007 framed this story as another example of English taxpayers subsidising a policy that asylum seekers can benefit from ‘while English tourists will continue to pay the full charges’. One can therefore postulate that the asylum issue gave some London newspapers opportunities to raise the issue of how Scotland is benefiting from being part of the ‘national community’ (implying British) to the detriment of England. Indeed, these papers did not make explicit reference to national identity, but used asylum as a ‘scare story’ to subliminally reproduce a national rhetoric about Scotland benefiting from being part of the British nation at the expense of England (see Brokes 1999). By defending the ‘taxpayer’, the London press purport to speak for the whole of Britain as the ‘nation’.

There is another unexpected result pertaining to the relation of press hysteria and national identity that was adduced from the analysis, which adds to the importance of this study and is

therefore worth highlighting. There were differences in UK newspapers' construction and framing of Scottish, English and British identities in the reporting. It has not been possible to explore this angle in depth in this thesis, but the use of the 'us and them' rhetoric would give rise to the proposition that some sections of UK media, particularly the London titles prioritised a British national identity over a 'Scottish' one for non-citizens. For example, in *the Scottish Daily Mail*'s campaign against deportation of the 'Burmese boys', the latter were depicted as "attended local [Shetland] school" and "speak English as their first language". The newspaper projected the boys' British education and ability to speak English as indicative of their possession of British national identity and symbols of 'Britishness' and integration into this national and cultural community. Therefore, the 'boys', the newspaper argued, belonged to Britain rather than Burma, their country of birth to which they were to be deported. They are therefore part of the 'us', which consists of British citizens, seen in opposition to the 'they' of the government that wanted to deport them. It could be argued that by deploying the 'us and them' binary the newspaper communicated a subtle message that migrants who integrate into British cultural values (and adopt its national identity makers) are worthy of being granted residency rights into the UK. The victory in winning the appeal against deportation was not belonging to 'them' - or theirs, but became 'our' victory, where 'us', were the entire British citizenry together with *the Scottish Daily Mail* and the Shetland community, a point underlined by this political comment:

I have no doubt that the support Hazel received from the community in Shetland played a significant role in this decision. This is a victory, not just for Hazel and her family, but for the whole community.

[Shetland Lib Dem MP – Alistair Carmichael – *The Scottish Daily Mail*, January 10, 2008]

Nonetheless, the newspaper overlooked that they would have imbibed linguistic markers such as speech mannerisms similar to those displayed by some interviewees, which others have observed to be attributes of 'Scottishness' or Scottish national identity (see Bond 2006). In addition, *the Scottish Mail* did not say the boys belonged to Scotland even though they lived there. This suggests an inclination by London newspapers to prioritise British over English and Scottish national identities in debates about issues of political significance such as migration. By so doing, it can be argued that these London papers purport to speak for Britain and construct this as the national community and Britishness as the national identity that determines membership (see also Brookes 1999). It might be that journalists are mindful that

asylum is not a devolved matter and therefore a UK issue. The coverage also overlooked the fact that membership could be to the local community of Shetland, as a nested localised identity of Scottishness.

It is worth noting that the Scottish newspapers also cited acquisition of the English language and being in receipt of a British education as markers of integration into British society. For example, *the Evening Times* and *the Herald* would highlight the utilitarian value for asylum seekers to speak English, a view identified in the literature as deployed by political elites to make a case for the ‘citizenship classes, tests and oaths’ policy. However, the Scottish press did not frame asylum seekers/refugees as a threat to British cultural values and way of life. In *the Evening Times* of November 27, 2007 & February 18, 2008 for example, there were many stories about asylum seekers and local residents participating in collaborative partnerships to organise protests against the demolition of the high rise flats and to deliver artistic projects like poetry writing, neighbourhood-cleaning exercises and anti-racist protests. These collaborative social actions, engagement and good community relations were embodied in the communality metaphors including the headline of ‘Glasgow’s own united nations’, ‘refugees and Scots unite’, ‘asylum seekers live cheek by jowl’ and ‘residents unite to beat racism’ occurring in the narrative (*The Evening Times* October 9, 2007). *The Evening Times* seems to depict a Scottish national identity as the headline ‘refugees and Scots unite’ indicates. It could have been made to read ‘refugees and Brits unite’, and to connote a British national identity. It might be that the reference to ‘Scot’ was to prioritise a local dimension (Scottish national identity) and the agency of residents (see Rosie *et al.* 2006). Another interpretation is that this was to invoke traditional Scottish sentiments that ‘Scots’ are more magnanimous and friendlier to strangers than the English (see Williams 1999; Cant and Kelly 1995; Miles and Dunlop 1987). In this sense, prioritising a Scottish national identity may be a subtle form of expressing Scottish nationalism. It could be countered that Scots are British too, (at least an identity formation some readers would subscribe to), and that this ‘local indigenous’ Scottish newspaper was just reflecting the national identity most likely to be adopted by their readership. The prioritising of a Scottish over British identity was observed among most interviewees. Talking about British society and overlooking a Scottish British distinction in this context was therefore legitimate. Nonetheless, there is a case to be made for further investigation of the ways in which UK media (both Scottish and London press) manifest nationalist discursive formations in the reporting of vexed political issues such as asylum.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

From the evidence adduced from the media monitoring, one can conclude that interviewees' perceptions, explored in *Chapter 5*, reflect much of the coverage. These include being described as "illegal asylum seekers/refugees" and that conflating asylum with other forms of immigration is indicative of journalists' ignorance of asylum as a humanitarian issue. However, one can conclude that conflating asylum with other forms of immigration in the newspapers might imply two things. First, the inability to make the distinction between asylum seekers and refugees signified a failure by journalists to recognise that welfare entitlements vary under UK law, and that they are related to the asylum status of an individual. Secondly, and more plausibly, especially in the case of the mainly anti-asylum London press, it might be a deliberate attempt by journalists to mislead and misinform, which interviewees believed is aimed at agenda setting. Much of the coverage also reflects widespread beliefs among interviewees that their views or 'voices' have been overlooked and they were "just treated as numbers" (Fiso), "lumped together" or "without a name" (Nie). These are interviewees' vocabularies for asylum seekers being rendered anonymous and ascribed collective negative identity in much of the media coverage. The findings reflect interviewees' belief, as others, that parts of the media lacked stories about the persecution asylum seekers face if deported to their homelands, supporting Barclay et al's study (2003: 94). The findings would also reinforce interviewees' opinion, as others, that journalists might be complicit in public ignorance and the lack of understanding of asylum as a humanitarian issue (Khan 2012a). My work therefore suggests that parts of the press framed asylum seekers in a way that is different to an already-existing meaning of asylum as defined by international convention. This fortuitous finding therefore suggests that lack of newsworthiness of asylum in the news is not to blame for ignorance of asylum among politicians and the public. On the contrary, this study suggests that despite the high visibility of asylum seekers/refugees in the news and legislative agenda in the past decade, journalists continue to display ignorance of asylum as a humanitarian issue as postulated by Kaye (2001: 67). It is a reminder of the difficulty in explaining why a pattern of reporting occurred. It would be interesting to investigate if this kind of journalistic ignorance is unique to or shared by coverage of other major issues such as health and crime.

It is plausible that media coverage was reflecting political elites' discursive strategies by framing the asylum issue as in crisis (Rein and Schon 1993; Lavenex 2001); and 'othering' asylum seekers as 'bad' migrants in order to generate 'fortress Britain' policymaking (Geddes 2003; Favell and Geddes 2001). In so doing, newspapers represented two kinds of asylum seekers/refugees: as 'folk devils' or as the evil, cultural 'other', mainly in the right wing anti-asylum London press, even though such representations were inaccurate; and as 'victim' mainly in the asylum-friendly Scottish press. Arguably, the 'victim' depiction of asylum seekers/refugees has been considered as asylum-friendly insofar as it was perceived by interviewees as having a potential to generate empathy and solidarity for asylum among British readers. For some interviewees though, and evident in *Chapter 5*, the 'victimhood' ascribed to them contrasted the way they preferred to be represented: as having social agency. The finding of media constructions of 'racialised' refugee identities is consistent with interviewees' views and previous studies discussed in *Chapters 2 & 5*. This form of negative 'othering' of asylum-seekers in liminal social and cultural identities as posing a threat to the public, 'dependent' and 'un-deserving' was covert and articulated through stereotypical narratives (Lugo-Ocando 2010: 99; Lynn and Lea 2003: 446). Indeed, the analysis did not find any overt racist normative or language as proscribed by British laws. Yet it concurs with interviewees' beliefs that there is explicit racial stereotyping and inflammatory language through the framing of asylum seekers as 'criminal', 'evil', 'junkies' and in conflating asylum seeking migration with 'Islamic terrorism'. By so doing, it is plausible that some media elites circumvented British anti-racist laws and participated in racist discourse (Gilroy 1987; Mendelberg 2001; Lugo-Ocando 2010: 99).

This study has also explored in Scottish/London dimension to newspapers' treatment of asylum seekers and for framing issues of identity in the UK. It found that some Scottish newspapers, particularly the 'local indigenous' ones tended to prioritise a Scottish national belonging and identity in its reporting. In contrast, some London newspapers particularly to the right of British politics have tended to prioritise British over territorial identities. It is a reminder that 'scare stories' continue to be framed by the UK press as a debate about identities in the multinational UK state, as has been found to be the case with press coverage of other stories such as the Mad Cow Disease in the 1990's (see Brookes 1999). More importantly, my work explored in more detail than before the difference in asylum reporting between 'Scottish', Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and Fleet Street' papers. What

conclusions can we draw about this distinction? Broadly speaking, the Scottish newspapers' – *the Herald, the Daily Record, the Evening Times, the Evening News* and *the Scotsman* – coverage was more favourable to asylum seekers/refugees than the right wing 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' and 'Fleet Street' titles of *the Sun, the Daily Express, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail* (Wilson 2004: 14). Of the London titles, *the Guardian* and *the Mirror* are less hostile, and traditionally in the Left/Liberal axis of British politics. Except for *the Scottish Mirror*, there is no significant difference in the hostility between 'Fleet Street' and 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street'. This could be explained by these newspapers' right wing and anti-immigration stance. Similar ideological motivations may explain why most 'Scottish editions of Fleet Street' are more hostile in opposing the asylum-friendly Scottish Government plans for asylum seekers than 'indigenous' titles and *the Scottish Mirror* circulating in Scotland. It might be that the Scottish press is reflecting an asylum-friendly stance to express opposition to Westminster policies and control over Scottish affairs, such as detention centres and 'dawn raids'. It might also be an indication that newspapers that have a local or regional circulation have a propensity to be asylum-friendly rather than being hostile, a finding that resonates with interviewees and that of Finney (2005). For instance, the 'local-indigenous' title, *the Evening Times* and the 'indigenous' titles of *the Herald* and *the Daily Record* that have their operational base in Glasgow had a more asylum-friendly coverage. These papers also tended to provide more coverage to asylum than the other Scottish papers of *the Scotsman, Scotland on Sunday* and *the Evening News*. Given that Glasgow is the largest city hosting dispersed asylum seekers, it might be that media elites anticipate or respond to views and reactions of their local readership, which intrinsically have implications for saleability of newspapers. Related to this, is the political consensus within Scottish devolved governance in opposing the detention of asylum seeker children. It is another opportune, but significant finding because it would suggest that Sim and Bowes' hypothesis that the increased positive coverage in the mid-2000s is attributable to pro-asylum support among the public is plausible. It is a view shared by some interviewees:

The media [indigenous] has no choice but to follow the views of local people. If you [the media] report things that are not accurate people wouldn't buy...that sets the tone of how the media reports. Because people see things, get to hear things, people know what has happened, if you report it differently, people wouldn't buy [the newspaper]....(Seth)

This person is telling us that local readership can influence media stories. He is also saying that readers could not be misled by media stories because readers live locally and have local knowledge. More importantly, his comments could mean that it is difficult for newspapers with a local base to set a news agenda that does not reflect local sentiments, rather than those operating from London. This would explain why *the Evening News* had the least asylum stories during the monitoring due to significantly less numbers of dispersed asylum seekers residing in Edinburgh. In addition, public campaigns and protest against detention and deportation of asylum seeker families and children were more prominent in Glasgow than Edinburgh during the monitoring period. The relationship between local views and media coverage; the positive depiction of asylum seeker children in all press types; ‘new racism’; and the prioritising of Scottish over a British or English national identity in the Scottish press need further investigation.

Chapter 7

NATURALISING, ‘RESPONSIBILIZING’ & INTEGRATING INTO ‘IMAGINED’ IDENTITIES

This is the first of the discussion chapters. As noted in *Chapters 1, 2 & 3*, one of the assumptions of this study was that asylum seekers/refugees’ perceptions of the importance of news media in their feelings of national belonging and national identity is poorly understood. It has also been explained in *Chapters 2 & 5* that having British citizenship need not necessarily be instrumental in migrants’ belonging and identity forming to the UK and Scotland. It was also noted that although government asylum policies were aimed at identity building around the ‘nation’ and managing media and public unease over the asylum ‘influx’ as posing a threat to British cultural and national identity, the views of asylum seekers/refugees have been missing in this debate. It was noted that Barclay et al (2003: 40-41) found that the only positive outcome of hostile media treatment of asylum seekers in Scotland was that it galvanised locals to challenge the hostility. Others have suggested that this renders asylum seekers together with locals as proactive social actors “other than passive victims” who employ strategies to contest negative media coverage (see Bowes *et al.* 2009: 35 -37). However, neither analysis provides a detailed account from asylum seekers about how these social actions are implemented. In addition, they tell us little about how these actions and practices are used by asylum seekers to create spaces of identification with their locality and Scotland. This chapter will therefore develop an understanding of these areas.

As a discussion chapter, it will employ the findings of the interview and media monitoring data to critically engage with theoretical and policymaking accounts relating to migrants’ belonging and identity formations in the multinational UK state. This is to develop an understanding of the contexts or locations from which asylum seekers/refugees’ interpret, mobilise and contest forms of national belonging and national identity in the UK. It will consider how interviewees’ social actions and practices are attempts at identity building and contestations of an ‘imagined’ Britishness and forms of belonging and membership. It will also argue that such contestations constitute a process of ‘disidentification’ by ethnic minority migrants (Byrne 2007). ‘Disidentification’ is used here to refer to individuals resisting a

prescribed form of identity, which is often effected by government policies (see Byrne 2007; Fortier 2010; Lentin and Titley 2011). In addition, the implications of interviewees' practices of identity for constructions of the 'nation' in the UK and in the devolved Scottish context are considered. Interviewees' experiences would be specifically deployed to critique theoretical accounts on how Scottish devolution and its postcolonial reality are creating a new kind of citizenship in the UK. The chapter will argue that fears expressed by other studies (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010; Heath and Robert 2005) that there is no relationship between asylum seekers/refugees' identification with Britain and volunteering to be simplistic.

The rationale for this type of analysis is twofold. Firstly, it is consistent with the study's research design for the analysis to prioritise issues of core concern to interviewees that will develop an understanding of migrants' orientations to national and cultural imaginaries. The primary focus of this study is to explore belonging and identity among asylum seekers/refugees and news media's influence in these processes. However, as evident thus far, interviewees were keen to talk about the impact of government's asylum-citizenship policies and media asylum stories on their orientations to national belonging and Britishness, Scottishness and homeland identities. Interviewees were also keen to demonstrate that they challenged policies and media stories that ascribed asylum seekers/refugees with negative social identities, and depicted them as incapable of responsible actions and Britishness (Tyler 2004: 192; Gifford 2004: 148; Bruter 2004).

Secondly, the role migrants' play in identity building around the British 'nation', as aspiring British citizens and the target of 'responsibilization' is poorly understood. 'Responsibilization', refers to processes and interventions that individuals, the state and other institutions deployed to make individuals within the state act and behave in a socially responsible manner (Doheny 2007). Critics of these interventions argue that behaving socially responsibly implies migrants should prioritise cultural 'bridging' with British cultural values and sense of community at the expense of connecting to transnational identities (Fortier 2010: 26). As discussed in the literature review, the social cohesion, citizenship classes and the proposed 'probationary' citizenship policies under New Labour are crucial to policymakers' attempts at coercing migrants into internalising British cultural values and responsible behaviour. UK government policies therefore prioritise identification with the UK or integration into Britishness as a *sine qua non* for granting British citizenship. Yet, as

demonstrated in the literature review, New Labour's responsible citizenship policy has been criticised for being too 'prescriptive and authoritarian' and failing to tender any theory or model as to how individuals should fulfil their obligations of responsible citizenship (Doheny 2007: 408). Also missing were what responsible citizenship behaviour entails, save that individuals should volunteer and that they should espouse British values. The literature review and *Chapter 6* have also examined how sections of the UK media have depicted asylum seekers/refugees as the cultural 'other' who is lacking in responsible behaviour. It might be that interviewees' impulse for drawing attention to the linkage between British citizenship and its non-legal dimensions of belonging and responsible action has to do with the context of this study. During fieldwork, and as explained in the methodology chapter, issues of migration, Britishness and social cohesion were visible in media and political spaces. Nevertheless, this analysis will build on knowledge at the intersection of British citizenship, national belonging and identity and other citizenship social processes such as integration and social cohesion. More importantly, the discussion will strengthen the call for a sociological analysis of marginalised groups' negotiation of membership, contestations and constructions of mainstream identities (Nagel 2009).

The first part of this chapter will explore the intersection of belonging and identity and British citizenship. The second part will consider interviewees' proactive actions to propose an asylum seeker/refugee model of responsible citizenship.

7.1 Naturalisation, Belonging & Identity

In order to gain insights to build on knowledge about asylum seekers/refugees' acquisition of British citizenship in developing feelings of national belonging and national identity, the interview data was analysed to explore the following:

- whether interviewees would like to be British citizens or be granted British citizenship
- interviewees' rationale for aspiring to be British citizens or not
- the linkage between British citizenship and belonging and identity
- whether those who have or do not have a feeling of belonging to and identity with Scotland or the UK would like to be British citizens or not
- whether British citizenship aid their sense of belonging and identity with the UK or devolved territories

These areas would shed light on Research Question 1: *What are asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity?*, and Research Question 3: *What*

other insights into the relationship between identity and UK newspapers' coverage can be gained from asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions?

All 23 said they would like to be British citizens. These include those who said they feel Scottish and British and claimed to be Scottish or British; those who said they did not have a feeling of belonging to Scotland or the UK; and those who made claim to their homeland national identity. This suggests that despite perceptions of social exclusion and public/media hostility, they would prefer to be British citizens. The unanimous opinion was that asylum seekers/refugees should be allowed to naturalise as British citizens for two reasons. Firstly, as *Chapter 2* discussed, this is because of residing in the UK for a protracted period, a view shared by the Goldsmith review (2009). Secondly, many (8), considered themselves stateless, as they could neither return to their homelands for fear of persecution nor could they be recognised as British citizens or as legal residents of the UK. They spoke of being stateless (field notes August 2008), as well as living “a life of limbo”, “in dilemma” and “the unknown” (Fiso), metaphors they deployed to represent the uncertainty and a lack of a right to permanent residency in the UK. All interviewees therefore construed British citizenship as an opportunity to restore their membership and belonging to statehood that would help to rebuild their lives and those of their children (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010). This view was more dominant among asylum seekers than among refugees, understandably because, as asylum seekers, they were anxiously awaiting the outcome of their asylum application:

At the moment, I just see myself as okay, legally on paper I am a Zimbabwean citizen. But personally, I just see myself as a person in a dilemma. I don't know where to go. I can't go to the right. I can't go to the left (Hael)

The use of identity ascribers of place and citizenship underlines the spatiality and relationality of identity. Haels' psychological dilemma of identity ascription suggests his 'dislocation' is crucial to his identity claims of being a Zimbabwean. One way to understand the above narrative is that it suggests that the lack of a speedy and successful outcome to their asylum applications caused their statelessness and sense of feeling of vulnerability to deportation. It might also imply that being a citizen of Zimbabwe (or homeland) does not imply having a feeling of belonging to and identifying with or feeling attached to Zimbabwe (homeland). This suggests that citizenship is seen as a legal status that may not lead to an individual's sense of belonging to and identity with that state. Consequently, for some, the anxiety of statelessness caused interviewees to continue to hang on to their national identities and

citizenship, as the above excerpt explains. Being stateless generates a feeling of fear and uncertainty about their future in the UK as they anxiously await a decision on their asylum applications. It embodies the dilemma that confronts many asylum seekers: to continue to be stateless as they lengthily await the outcome of their asylum claim or go back to their home countries where they are likely to be persecuted. Obviously, they choose the former as the lesser of two evils, as one interviewee explained when asked if they contemplated repatriating to their homeland Nigeria:

About that [my query] you have to think about your home [Nigeria] first, where you are coming from is not good for me, you understand me? So I just have to bear it [the bureaucratic hassle] (Romi)

In order to provide context to the above line of inquiry, as *Chapters 3 & 6* explained, the ‘voluntary repatriation’ policy had just been announced and widely covered in the news during fieldwork. The policy was aimed at encouraging asylum seekers to volunteer to be repatriated to their countries in exchange for cash incentives, an announcement that might have influenced their responses. Nonetheless, interviewees would like to be granted “the paper” (Elli), “the status” (Boyce), “positive answer” (Marie) and “recognition” (Rael), which were metaphors for permanent residency, naturalisation or British passport and British citizenship. As *Chapter 4* noted, acquiring a British passport and British citizenship becomes a symbolic and functional (instrumental) way of overcoming their statelessness.

Another reason for wanting British citizenship was that the British passport was perceived to enable asylum seekers/refugees’ freedom of movement, especially the right to travel abroad including to their home countries without fear of persecution:

With the paper, wherever you are working you are seen as a British citizen and under the Queen’s protection, which means a great deal...I get home sick. But, if I went there... and with British citizenship, no one will touch me (Elli)

Many said they only felt ‘British’ when they travelled to their homelands because owning a British passport brought them security against persecution. There was another category of

asylum seekers/refugees whose citizenship boundary was delineated by their homelands¹². Four interviewees said they would forfeit their homeland's citizenship if they were to acquire any other citizenship including that of Britain. Their homeland therefore continued to control their right to citizenship (Gustafson 2002). Given that many interviewees said they would like British citizenship despite feeling alienated from the UK, naturalising as British citizens implies safety and security and not necessarily having a sense of belonging (Creese 2005: 17). British citizenship therefore provides a feeling of protection for asylum seekers/refugees wishing to participate in the political, social and economic spheres of their homelands. This suggests that transnational participation abroad paradoxically engenders identification with the UK. It indicates that migrants could belong to, have other national identities, and therefore should be expected to continue to have emotional attachment, familial and cultural ties to those countries (Sales 2007: 234). In this case, transnational identities and host state national identities can coexist (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 14).

Concerns about safety and security were also extended to their children, which is a reminder that parenthood played a part in interviewees' developing a feeling of belonging to and for wanting British citizenship. As discussed in *Chapter 4*, British citizenship was constructed as an opportunity to cater for and secure the future of their children or for the "good life" as this dialogue illustrates:

Interviewer: Is this because you think you feel you have a responsibility to protect your child?

Interviewee: Yes, where would I live my baby if I were deported? Because Mugabe [the President of Zimbabwe], especially for Mugabe, he wouldn't accept this one [child]. He doesn't hold a Zimbabwean birth certificate. He holds a Scottish one. Born and bred in Scotland, in the Royal Infirmary. So does this little soul have to suffer because of me? He doesn't even know mum is seeking asylum in Britain. He knows this is his home (Fiso)

The above dialogue raises concern about the anomaly in having a country's 'birth certificate' and the lack of entitlement to its citizenship, and the symbolic function of this for state protection of its citizens. Having a Scottish birth certificate for Scotland-based asylum seekers/refugees is seen as being entitled to having automatic rights to British citizenship and

12 They included three from Somalia and one from Sierra Leone. The latter repealed the law precluding dual citizenship in 2007.

its entitlements. According to all interviewees, British citizenship will aid their belonging to and identification with Scotland; despite citizenship being British (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 61). In this case, the emotional (or affective) status of citizenship (belonging and identity) is dependent on asylum seekers/refugees' legal status as British citizens. As the dialogue showed, many anticipated deportation if their asylum claim failed. They therefore said they had a parental responsibility to protect their British born children on two counts: first, the dilemma of whom to entrust with their care in Scotland if they were to be deported, and second ensuring that they did not take their children to face persecution in their homelands. The above dialogue also revealed a determination to protect their children from harm's way and from being stateless emanating from being refused British and Zimbabwean (homeland) citizenships. British citizenship provides safety in the UK, and security from deportation and persecution in their homeland for themselves and their children. Naturalisation, and attendant acquisition of a British passport is therefore "an evidence of the central right of Citizenship", and crucial for the state protection of its citizens (Goldsmith 2009: 82).

What other conclusions can we draw from interviewees' comments that are relevant to the intersection of British citizenship and identity processes? British citizenship is understood by interviewees to give migrants automatic access to 'Marshallian' rights and entitlements. The majority felt that becoming British citizens would enable them to access welfare services and to participate in the life and service delivery of their communities and at the national or state level. Such entitlements would give them a 'good life' for themselves and their children, which, in turn, would lead them to develop a feeling of belonging and identification with the UK and Scotland. The above comment by Hael could be unpicked to mean acquiring British citizenship in the early stages of seeking asylum and the automatic rights to some social citizenship would therefore facilitate identification with the UK and Scotland. However, for some, gaining British citizenship may not lead to identification with the UK due to the structural inequalities they face:

Yes. Again when I made a decision to seek citizenship I asked for a double citizenship. So I kept my citizenship, it's called double nationality. So I kept mine and the UK citizenship. Again this might have been a decision that was prompted [by my experience]. Although I felt I am a UK citizen, I do not 100 per cent feel or completely absorbed by this society. I make no mistake about this. Again as I said being granted citizenship is not only the paper, it is the society you deal with, it is when I go to seek

local employment. It is when I go to see my GP. It is when I am trying to put my kids at school. It is when I am trying to find an after school club for my children, is it easy for me? Or is it the people who run this services are quite slow in responding or make it difficult for, em, because they don't see me as a citizen. When you add up those experiences, it is not easy to jump on a citizenship bandwagon and say am gonna forget or abandon my country. No. (Leo)

This interviewee is suggesting that having citizenship does not imply equal participation in services, but might mean continued exclusion that would contribute to his fragility of national affiliation with the UK. Having British citizenship therefore may not be sufficient for facilitating forced migrants' feeling of an emotional bond. This suggests that British citizenship is in competition with the emotional dimension, which highlights identity as a process that is fluid and developing.

There is another ambiguous relationship between British citizenship and its affective dimensions of belonging and identity. It has been discussed in *Chapter 4* that many interviewees said they felt 'British' without having British citizenship. During fieldwork, and discussed in *Chapter 4*, interviewees talked a lot about befriending British citizens, particularly in their neighbourhood, work and educational institutions:

When my mother taught me that in our culture that in order for me to make true friends you have to invite friends....So the support came from the people who are friends, good friends. So I know how to make good friends and...It is these friends who will help you when you are falling down. So you need to share a drink, you've got to interact.
(Leo)

Befriending and social interaction was perceived as a way for cultural and ethnic bridging and respect for cultural diversity. The dominant belief among interviewees was that in order for their cultural beliefs and practices to be respected by British citizens, asylum seekers/refugees should respect British cultural values and those of others in the society. Interviewees therefore said that social interaction is a more productive means for migrants such as asylum seekers/refugees to learn about British cultural values as this dialogue illustrates:

Interviewer: So you are opposed to [Citizenship classes and] testing then...

Interviewee: You will learn about other people, their culture around you by interacting with other people. Not by doing the test. Because I did that test, but ask me any question now and I can't remember. But that time I had to read it and had to do the test and that was it. I just did it because it was forced on me to do it (Fiso).

Interviewer: So you are saying the way you interact with your community helps you to learn about the culture and not by doing the classes and tests?

Interviewee: I think the way you interact with the community, you will learn more. I think you will learn more by doing something you are enjoying. You are talking to other people. You know you don't have any other thoughts like oh, this is an exam I have to do this, I have to learn this. It's different. You are more relaxed than, you know, you have to read this and you have to pass this, otherwise you know it's kind of not easy (Fiso).

This could be unpicked to mean that interviewees prioritised this form of learning about the cultural norms of the local community or “the Scottish culture” (Nie) over the ‘Britishness’ that is promoted through policies such as citizenship classes. This is because social interaction occurs through migrants’ own volition, enables participation in the life and services of their locality and provides a natural environment for learning about the ‘nation’ and its cultural and social values (Stewart and Mulvey 2010), rather than through the regimentation and rigours of formal testing. More importantly, this raises the question of whether such policies for governing cultural diversity are a reliable measure of migrants’ ability to learn, retain and develop an identification with the UK. As already discussed in *Chapters 4 & 5*, interacting with locals and services in their neighbourhoods facilitates interviewees’ feelings of belonging to their locality. The localised identity forming is in contrast to citizenship policy (classes and tests) that prioritises mainstream identities of Britishness or Scottishness. Interviewees’ preference for internalising localised identities is also in contrast to that articulated in UK newspapers of all types. For example, *Chapter 6* explored the idea that the positive coverage of the ‘Burmese boys’ was due to their British education and ability to speak English, which was cited as a marker of Britishness and Scottishness. In this case, national identity seemed to be prioritised over a localised Shetland identity, albeit assumed.

Interviewees’ perspectives would also suggest that the recent proposal by the Coalition government’s Home Secretary Teresa May to amend the citizenship test to prioritise the learning of ‘British history’ and instil ‘patriotism’ on migrants might be counterproductive (*The Guardian*, Sunday 1 July 2012). It is difficult to see how prioritising the learning of British history to instil in migrants British patriotism cannot continue to be met with cynicism. Feelings of Britishness therefore cannot be achieved among migrants through citizenship classes and the acquisition of British citizenship alone; neither would they make

them feel 'British'. Feelings of belonging, 'Britishness' and British citizenship are therefore not necessarily mutually inclusive. The ambiguity in the intersection between British citizenship and identity forming is a manifestation that national belonging and national identity are complex, contingent and contextual (Keating 2009: 506). This raises the suggestion that there is a need for the state to play a role in officially extending rights to social citizenship and eradicate structural inequalities to enable asylum seekers/refugees' national identity construction (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 60).

7.2. Exploring an Asylum Seeker 'Version' of Responsible Citizenship

I never expected interviewees' accounts and social actions of responsible citizenship to be original and important findings that would inform the public debate about migrant identity forming. As already mentioned, interviewees' practices and actions are mostly voluntary work and very relevant to this thesis because they were partly a response to negative constructions including from politics and media of asylum seekers/refugees as 'junkies', 'evil', scroungers' and lacking responsible social agency. The study also has methodological significance in showing that 'intersectionality' can be employed to enable a deeper understanding of practices that marginalised groups used to negotiate and contest social membership and belonging to the mainstream. The sub-text of this discussion is therefore to develop an understanding of how 'intersectionality' is suitable for investigating not only the discursive patterns (views and subjectivities), but also the practices and actions migrants employ to create spaces of belonging.

To encompass these mediated attitudes and actions, the discussion will also consider whether asylum seekers/refugees' social actions could be conceptualised as a 'version' of responsible citizenship. This 'version' will suggest that non-citizen asylum seekers/refugees are both a product of, and agents for, 'responsibilization' (Clarke 2005), integration into the mainstream (Waters 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010) and identity building and social cohesion (Lentin and Titley 2011; Fortier 2010; Byrne 2007). As 'products', they are a target of policies and media interventions aimed at their 'disidentification' and making them socially responsible and able to integrate into Britishness. As agents, they are expected to act in a socially responsible manner, inculcate a feeling of belonging and identify with the 'nation'.

This part has three sections. The first recalls some basic features of responsible citizenship as adduced from policy and citizenship literature, already discussed in *Chapter 2*. The second discusses the ways in which interviewees' interventions fit with normative and policy accounts of being a 'responsible' citizen.

7.2.1 Describing & Modelling 'Responsible' Citizenship

In exploring interviewees' version of responsible citizenship, I was inspired by the fact that interviewees' concerns about "being a good citizen" and "good role model" (Seth), "be a good parent" (Fiso), "be respectful and law-abiding" (Ma), "behaving responsibly", and "paying back to the community" (Nie). These phrases incidentally resonated, in many respects, with those expressed by policymakers and citizenship theorists while contradicting some UK media coverage of asylum seekers/refugees as 'folk devils' discussed in *Chapter 6*. As discussed in *Chapter 2*, the responsible citizenship agenda categorises individuals into 'good' and 'bad' citizens. This dichotomy is measured in relation to the performance of responsibilities, or an ability to contribute to 'the common good', rather than the taking up of rights (Doheny 2007: 207). 'Good' or responsible or active citizens referred to migrants who prioritise their responsibilities including integrating into Britishness over their rights, behave in a socially responsible manner and are law-abiding, actively participate in community life, and are being empowered and empowering others. By empowered, is meant the realization of human competencies and capabilities to facilitate participation in social, political, economic and cultural processes (Phillips and Berman 2003: 347).

Although responsible 'active' citizenship is anchored on an individual's demonstration of a sense of belonging and identity with the local and national community, it was not a core element of the research design. The following questions therefore guide the exploration of the data to adduce interviewees' version of responsible citizenship and to address *Research Questions 1 & 3: What are asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity? What other insights into the relationship between identity and UK newspapers' coverage can be gained from asylum seekers/refugees' perceptions?*

Table 2: Interrogating Responsible Practices

1. What practices, actions and beliefs (in the data) did interviewees perceive to constitute being a ‘good’, ‘bad’ or responsible ‘active’ citizen?
2. Which Practices, actions and beliefs imply that interviewees behave and act as ‘good’ or responsible ‘active’ citizens in relation to issues of identity?
3. How are these practices or actions expressed?
4. How do interviewees view these practices?
5. What are their motivations for, and what is the purpose of these practices?

The rest of the chapter presents interviewees’ practices and beliefs that were elicited by the aforementioned questions.

7.2.2 Responsibilization into Britishness & Scottishness

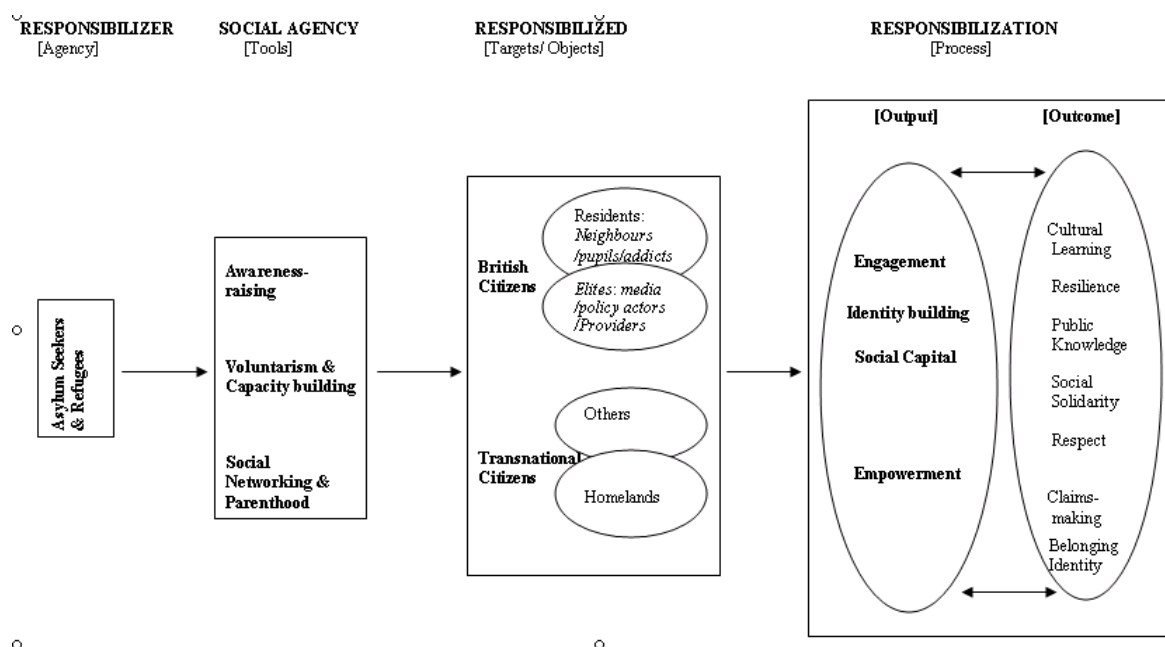
Figure 1 shows that there were four main dimensions to interviewees’ responsible actions. Firstly, asylum seeker/refugees are the ‘responsibilizers’ or social agents. Secondly, asylum seeker-refugees are the tools or channels for their social action or agency such as awareness-raising, volunteering and social networking. Thirdly, asylum seekers/refugees, British citizens and others beyond the UK are the ‘responsibilized’ or the targets of the social actions. The fourth dimension depicts the ‘responsibilization’ process that both ‘responsibilizer’ and ‘responsibilized’ went through. The ‘responsibilization’ process had both outputs and outcomes. The outputs refer to the social actions and processes such as identity building, social engagement, mobilisation of social capital and empowerment. Outcomes refer to the benefits (intended) derived such as having a sense of belonging and identity, cultural learning, integration, resilience, social solidarity, respect and claims making.

The three broad categories of social action (practices and beliefs) and their function as responsible citizenship have an overarching relationship, and are therefore mutually inclusive. For example, volunteering and social networking underpinned most practices. Similarly, both the ‘responsibilization’ output and outcome processes were mutually interconnected. Asylum seeker-refugee ‘responsibilizers’ depended on other output processes such as mobilising social capital among other asylum seekers/refugees to enable identity building and social engagement with British citizens. These output processes, in turn, facilitated

responsibilization outcomes such as inculcating a feeling of belonging, cultural learning, social solidarity and claims making. Similarly, as the diagram illustrates, asylum seeker-refugee ‘responsibilizers’ depended on outcome processes such respect and claims making for initiating output processes of identity building, social engagement and social capital mobilisation.

The rest of this section describes interviewees’ practices, actions and beliefs that were indicative of responsible ‘active’ citizenship.

FIGURE 1. An Asylum seeker/Refugee Version of Responsible citizenship



22 out of 23 interviewees claimed to undertake volunteering such as providing advocacy, social care, translating and interpreting services, governance of organisations, organising awareness-raising such as ‘art & socio-cultural’ and ‘communal talk & dialogues’ events, and capacity building activities. ‘Art & socio-cultural’ events (henceforth known as performances) broadly referred to social and cultural initiatives, artistic performances and displays. The activities were mutually inclusive, because social and cultural events, such as ‘international family days’ often incorporated artistic activities such as dance, singing, drumming and other related cultural expressions, and vice versa. ‘Communal talk & dialogue’, referred to workshops and talks that interviewees organised on an informal basis in

the local community. Capacity building refers to a process of facilitating and strengthening the acquisition of knowledge, skills and resources that individuals need toward a positive goal. Eight interviewees said they undertook capacity-building activities. Three of them participated in training journalists to improve their coverage of asylum seekers/refugees. Five others trained service providers to make their services more accessible to asylum seekers/refugees¹³ as these excerpts illustrate:

But most of the time it [media news] is about asylum seekers being a burden to the country. Like myself it would be easy for me to just stay in the house and claim my state benefit, but I said, no, I want to contribute to the community and to the society as a whole. I have done so much volunteering work with the elderly, age concern in Milton Keynes. At that time I had just had my baby, maybe one year old, but I still went out to help. Because I want to be part of the community, to feel part of them (Lima)

We have different programmes and activities that have been running either through the schools or the local community. For example, for the schools we have an awareness-raising project, where we go to all the primary schools in the local area and raise awareness of why we are here (Seth)

I have been involved in the media training. With the media corp, I attended some of the workshops to help me challenge bad news [about asylum seekers/refugees]... (Fiso)

We go to schools and speak with children about asylum. And this is in primary 7. And the children ask us how we fled. And other many questions, and we answered them (Marie)

There are obvious reasons for targeting specific members of the public. These include to educate British citizens about the plight and cultures of asylum seekers/refugees and to challenge misperceptions of asylum seekers/refugees as a homogenous group of ‘scroungers’, ‘spongers’ and ‘junkies’. For instance, the comments above make a distinction between media narratives of asylum seeker dependency and the decision to do voluntary work, even though some like Lima could have decided to stay at home. Lima’s comments suggested that social status of gender and parenthood intersects with her actions and desire to have a feeling of belonging to her locality. She like the others therefore contested media depictions while making a social valuation of the importance of contributing to society and developing an emotional connection to its membership. Representing the diversity of experiences of persecution would therefore help to counter these hostile depictions that label asylum seekers

13 Four of these interviewees were involved with Oxfam-Scotland’s ‘Positive Images Network’ project that is aimed at improving Scottish press reporting of asylum seekers/refugees.

with inferior social and cultural identities. I have argued elsewhere that this was also a way for asylum seekers to claim their individual identities and represent themselves as what many interviewees described as ‘real people’, with individual identities and experiences just as their Scottish and British audience do (Khan 2008; 2012a). Other reasons for interviewees’ actions include, “a way to give back to society” (Boyce), to avoid social isolation and boredom, to be “good role models” for their children (Seth), and facilitates cultural understanding among locals and asylum seekers/refugees.

However, as mentioned above, interviewees did not perceive some of the practices as constitutive of responsible citizenship. These are my own interpretations of such interventions based on resonances they share with policy and theoretical accounts of responsible citizenship. This begs the question – how are these practices and beliefs relevant to debates about asylum-seeking migrants’ ability to develop a feeling of belonging and identity with the UK and Scotland, or the inability to behave responsibly?

Firstly, the delivery of socio-cultural and artistic awareness-raising interventions showed that asylum seeker/refugees were capable of the kind of communitarian social actions that has been associated with being a responsible citizen (Brannan *et al.* 2006; Worley 2005). Communitarian social actions include deliberative engagement and cultural learning by which asylum seekers/refugees socially engaging with British citizens to identify, debate and solve social issues or problems through open and frank discussions (Brannan *et al.* 2006). Cultural learning refers to a process of engagement by which individuals such as asylum seekers/refugees successfully interacted in the host culture, in this case the UK, or with others of a different culture to promote understanding (Maletzky 2008). As *Figure 1* illustrates, local residents included young people, particularly schoolchildren and adults with challenging behaviour, such as “drug addicts” (Marie):

We go to schools and speak with children about asylum. And this is in primary 7. And the children ask us how we fled. And many other questions, and we answer them (Marie)

[...]You know, when we talk to them [drug addicts] that we realised that these people, it doesn’t mean that they don’t want us. They’ve never been told by the government that we were coming to live within their community. That’s why they don’t accept us. When we told them how we came here. How we are living. They started to tell us that they didn’t know that we are not allowed to work. They didn’t know that some asylum

seekers are educated. Some (migrants) are just here for professional jobs, not even seeking asylum. They thought that everyone who is driving a car, has got a black skin is an asylum seeker sponging on their money to buy that car (Fiso)

Interviewees showed pragmatism in assessing the public hostility. They blamed this on a minority that they perceived to be vulnerable rather than on the majority of locals. For example, it is also the case that there are some members of the locality that do not display anti-asylum attitudes. This is understandable because it has been mentioned that interviewees had positive social interaction and support from locals. This interviewee, Fiso, also showed understanding towards this minority of residents because of their social circumstances of being ‘drug addicts’ and children causing them to be easily influenced by media depictions. In this case, this interviewee was mitigating the blame for their anti-asylum attitudes while holding the media as culpable. The interactions also enabled both interviewees to learn that the hostility evinced by this minority of residents is due to lack of information about the reasons for the dispersal of asylum seekers/refugees into communities like Sighthill. This implied that media communication was not solely to blame for public ignorance of the asylum issue as some interviewees felt (see *Chapter 5*). It is because of the lack of engagement by policymakers with local residents to educate them about the asylum issue, complementing Sim and Bowes’ findings (2007: 734). In this way, asylum seekers/refugees acted responsibly to mitigate the failures of some politicians and journalists to educate British citizens about the plight of asylum seekers/refugees. It is also grounds for justifying interviewees’ proactive actions and belief that this category of residents need help to redress the ignorance and to canvass public understanding and support (see Roche 1987; Home Office 2005; Brannan *et al.* 2006).

The interventions indicated that interviewees not only identified a social problem, that of media’s misrepresentation of asylum and attendant fuelling of community tensions, but also attempted to address it. Marie recounted that after their performance of *The Flat*, a community play based on the Pollok area of Glasgow, members of the audience wanted to know if they sought asylum to flee poverty and to benefit from the welfare system, which *Chapter 6* found to be a dominant theme in the media’s representation of the asylum issue. They therefore explained that asylum was a humanitarian issue rather than about economic migration.

Secondly, the success of these responsible social actions depended on interviewees' agency to build and mobilise social capital among asylum seekers/refugees. Their personal professional development and education were part of this process (see Putnam 2000). Interviewees were resourceful in mobilising social capital 'bonding' among their asylum seeker/refugee community to address the needs of other vulnerable asylum seekers/refugees. Providing advocacy, English language classes and interpreting services helps other vulnerable asylum seekers/refugees to access key services like health and schooling:

I was dispersed to Glasgow in 2001 and they put me in this accommodation... Well, I realised there were very few people who could speak English. I was surrounded by French speakers: like people from The Congo and Cameroon. So I used to have knocks from the door by people needing help – help like filling in forms, if they get forms from the Home Office, school forms for their children. Some people come to my door if they need the ambulance. So I would phone the ambulance for them. Sometimes the people in the ambulance would like to speak with the person, so I would speak for them (Nie)

This comment suggests that both service providers and other asylum seekers/refugees benefited from the interpreting services provided by Nie. There was a feeling that the asylum seekers/refugees that they helped with translating perceive them as trustworthy and better at articulating the opinions of asylum seekers/refugees, particularly in helping them access services. This finding resonates with previous work that found that asylum seekers/refugees residing in Glasgow perceived poor interpretation as an impediment to social interaction and the accessing of services (see Sim and Bowes 2007). In addition, Sim and Bowes found that there was a perception among asylum-seeking migrants that translation services were unreliable and that there was a dearth of interpreters to provide a good service (2007: 734). This suggests that interviewees are resourceful by helping others to participate in service delivery in their locality. It would be insightful to investigate what beneficiaries of these interpreting services think with a view to assessing interviewees' claims. Volunteering therefore illustrated asylum seekers/refugees' ability to move beyond social capital 'bonding' to social capital 'bridging'. This is because through volunteering, some asylum seekers/refugees interacted socially beyond their immediate family and ethnic networks in the host community. As Fiso explained, their volunteering with mainstream service providers enabled them to understand "the system", which is their metaphor for the structures and processes of a British work ethos, and so acts as a facilitator of social capital 'bridging':

I enjoy working with Karibu. But Karibu is only working with my people. But when I worked with Victim Support, I worked with my people and with the host community. So that makes me understand the system easily (Nie)

Interviewees' actions are therefore relevant to debates about migrant integration into Britishness as highlighted in *Chapter 2*. Integration, which refers to the incorporation of immigrants into the life and activities of a host society or single polity (Nagel and Staeheli 2008) is not the focus of this study. However, as Ager and Strang (2004) observed, dimensions of social capital, such as social 'bonding' and social 'bridging' provide an understanding of the integration process among asylum seekers/refugee migrants (see also Rosenberg 2008). A similar observation was made by Cheong *et al.* that social capital 'bridging' is crucial for integration because migrants deploy it to 'bridge' or socially connect with others of different ethnicity and culture as well as to 'bond' at the intra-ethnic levels (Cheong *et al.*, 2007: 28). While Ager and Strang's (2004)¹⁴ analysis, as those of others, gave prominence to the role of social capital mobilisation in asylum seeker/refugee migrants' integration at the social, political and economic levels, there was little linkage between social capital, integration into national and cultural identities, and responsible citizenship in their analysis. Therefore, much needs to be learned about integration at the affective or psychological level of identity forming and belonging. Such a linkage could however be identified in the experiences of interviewees, because social capital was a by-product of asylum seekers/refugees' social connections, the formation of which was motivated by respect for law and mainstream cultural values including British and Scottish cultures. This would suggest an emotional dimension to integration rather than social, economic and cultural integration. These are actions that policymakers claimed could contribute to social cohesion and responsible citizenship (Cheong *et al.* 2007; Zetter *et al.* 2002). It is outside the purview of this thesis to enter into a detailed review or the polemic debate around the meanings of, and what does and does not constitute integration and social capital. I have only engaged with it only insofar as is required to explain how integration relates to social capital and responsible citizenship among asylum-seeking migrants. It is also to highlight the overarching relationship between an individual's sense of belonging and identity, on the one

14 The Ager and Strang analysis focused only on refugees, and not on asylum seekers.

hand, and ability to integrate into Britishness that is a central aim of New Labour's 'active citizenship' (Turner 2006: 615; Waite 2012; Tyler 2010; McGhee 2009).

Thirdly, and as a corollary to the above, interviewees' practices constitute identity building, contestation and claims making for cultural recognition and respect (Khan 2012b). It also highlights interviewees' conception of integration as emotional and "a two-way process" (Seth, Nie, Fiso, Sha) of "cultural exchange" (Nie) between asylum seekers/refugees and British citizens rather than a one-way process" (Seth). Another interviewee explained further about her view on this kind of integrating into identities:

Interviewer: Are you saying that integration is not about knowing the ways of the British people, but giving them [the British people] an opportunity for them to know you [asylum seekers/refugees]?

Interviewee: Of course. This thing [integration] is two way, not one way. If I learn to know them [British culture], the more closer they get to me. They want to know more about me. Where I come from, how I came to here, what is the reason, which make me to come all the way from Africa to Britain, you know (Nie)

In this case, integration is both about social interaction and asylum seekers/refugees learning and acquiring the culture of the host society, and about indigenous population (Scots) to learn about and accept their cultures. As discussed in *Chapter 2*, integration is contingent upon migrants' demonstration of a feeling of identification with British cultural values (Anderson *et al.* 2011; Stewart and Mulvey, 2010). In this context, identity forming is a function of integrating into both the UK dominant culture and minority cultures of migrants. This would imply that even though ethnic minority migrants would subscribe to a British culture, they embody multiple cultural identities (Khan 2013; Gillespie 2007; Byrne 2007; Fortier 2010). Respect and tolerance, as interviewees and others observed, are intrinsic to "good community relations" and social cohesion, and these are elements claimed by political elites to constitute New Labour's responsible 'active' citizenship (Brannan *et al.* 2006; Cheong *et al.* 2007). They also constitute identity building through self-representation and claims making, issues explored in *Chapters 4 & 5*. These include claims to: "a right to exercise a voice" (Alberto), access social rights and welfare entitlements, and to be recognised as, and accorded rights of victims of political persecution. As Burton *et al.* (2004) have argued, self-representations through direct social engagement provide a human dimension to asylum seekers/refugees' stories. This could restore asylum seekers/refugees 'sense of self-esteem', a process that

Burton *et al.* (2004) argued is crucial to agency in community participation and empowerment.

However, this should not be read as interviewees' prioritising their claims to rights over their responsibilities. As others have stated, it indicates that asylum seekers/refugees made claims for the state to grant them rights that would enable them to exercise certain responsibilities (see Bosniak 1998; Brubaker 1992; Stewart 1995). Given that much of press coverage excluded asylum seekers/refugees' diverse voices and perspectives, the awareness-raising and public engagement enterprise became an avenue to represent themselves as "real people" (Alberto), with individual identities and experiences just like their British audiences (see Tyler 2006). They provided British citizens with an opportunity to re-construct their perception of asylum seekers/refugees beyond the inflammatory and stereotypical 'folk devil' media imagery. Their overall belief was that these actions would help to counter the dominant media discourse that labelled asylum seekers/refugees as a homogenous group of 'scroungers', 'spongers', 'bogus' and 'illegals' (Seth, and *Chapter 4*). By so doing the practices constitute a process of 'disidentification' that challenges the state's attempt at promoting a collective Britishness among would be British citizens (Byrne 2007). It would be insightful to investigate how asylum-seeking migrants represent themselves in these activities, and the views of British citizens on such self-representations. The media monitoring identified one news story in *the Daily Record* to suggest that locals benefited from asylum seekers/refugees activities:

I met Ahlam during a project for last year's Refugee Week, a play called *The Flat*. I can remember the first time I met the group of asylum seekers. I had racist views.....Alam said to me that as I got to know them, my attitude would change. I didn't think so, but I decided to give myself a chance. And I did change. It would be great if everybody had the same opportunity as me. Now I see asylum seekers as people – the same as us.

(Anne Marie, 38, Scottish, in *the Daily Record*, November 12, 2008)

This extract gives some credibility to interviewees' claims about the usefulness of their endeavour to create spaces for identity building and for contesting negative refugee identities. This area needs investigating. Interviewees' practices therefore are in contrast to media representations of asylum seekers/refugees as a burden on the taxpayer and a threat to social cohesion, which are indices of lack of 'responsible' citizenship. On the contrary,

interviewees showed an inclination to work and to contribute to “national development” (Seth, Leo) or what the literature referred to as ‘the common good’. Educational attainment that would lead to gaining employment would extricate asylum seekers/refugees from ‘dependency’ or being a burden on the taxpayer that dominated much of the press coverage. As others have observed, asylum seekers/refugees understood the significance of training and education for their empowerment and for undertaking the responsibilities of citizenship (Isin and Turner 2007; Nordberg 2006: 253).

Fourthly, interviewees perceived volunteering as a facilitator of feelings of belonging to and identification with their locality and Scotland, echoing Stewart and Mulvey (2010: 10). As explained above, interviewees regarded their proactive actions including voluntary work as important for their integration into the mainstream, including locality and Scottish national identity. This suggests previous findings by Stewart and Mulvey, and Heath and Roberts that question this dynamic to be probably misplaced. Interviewees therefore called for their voluntary practices to be considered as testimonials for granting them British citizenship. It also resonates with the then government proposals for ‘earned citizenship’ that prioritises volunteering as ‘civic participation’ and responsible social action of newcomers (Goldsmith 2009: 9; *Path to Citizenship* 2008). However, this view is at odds with the current government whose thinking is that volunteering as criteria for granting British citizenship amounts to bribery (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010). Nonetheless, volunteering is consistent with the current government’s ‘Big Society’ agenda, as a measure of contribution to ‘imagined’ British values (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 10). In addition, the ‘Big Society’ agenda is also considered as crucial for ‘responsible’ citizenship and for incorporating identity and social relations in the process of attaining British citizenship (Anderson *et al.* 2011: 557).

Can interviewees’ social actions and practices constitute an asylum seeker version or form of responsible citizenship, belonging and membership to the community? I would argue that this is a plausible postulation for two reasons. Firstly, it will allow a ‘bottom-up’ approach to prioritising the opinions of asylum seekers/refugees that were the targets of government’s responsabilization and identity building policies (see Bowes *et al.* 2009; Gillespie 2007; Wahl-Jorgensen 2006). Given that to date the government has failed to tender what responsible citizenship entails, interviewees’ actions could contribute to policymaking in this

area. Secondly, my interpretation of interviewees' practices as responsible social action was based on assessing how these interventions characterise asylum seekers/refugees as social agents in a way that was consistent with policy and citizenship theorising on responsible 'active' citizenship. In this sense, this version helps us to understand asylum seekers/refugees' orientations, meanings and contestations of identities and response to hostile media treatment. It also helps us understand the locations and contexts from which identities and membership are created, negotiated and 'imagined'. My postulation is a response to calls for an empirical analysis that is grounded in the 'lived' experiences of the relationship between processes of citizenship and media communication that will inform citizenship and social policy theorising (Robins *et al.* 2008; Nyers 2007; Lewis *et al.* 2007). It should be underlined that the aforementioned practices and actions may not be unique to asylum seeker/refugee migrants. They are communitarian practices that British citizens, including Scots also undertake for the 'common good'. Generating an asylum seeker version of responsible citizenship to explain the experiences of asylum seekers/refugees might therefore be open to the criticism that their actions would apply equally to indigenous or British citizens, albeit with different aims and results. This is especially true of socio-political processes such as awareness raising, volunteering, capacity building, social networking and 'good parenting or role modelling', which are sociological realities of various communities and social and interest groups in British society. However, for marginalised communities such as asylum seeker/refugees, who have borne the brunt of media and political elites 'responsibilization' agenda, their views and contributions to forms of belonging and responsible citizenship deserve to be highlighted (Wahl-Jorgessen 2006). In addition, these practices constitute the actual spaces and struggles where forms of belonging and identifying with society and responsible citizenship are expressed (Lister *et al.* 2007; Isin and Turner 2002; Nordberg 2006). One can therefore expect this asylum seeker version to serve as a heuristic device for a 'phenomenon' we know little about (see Anthias 2008). It is hoped that this 'version' provides a template for exploring the beliefs and practices of responsible 'active' citizenship of other individuals or social groups, including British citizens. It would be particularly interesting to investigate whether Scots have their own 'version' of conceptualising responsible citizenship.

7.3 Identity Construction & Implications for Devolved Scotland?

What then can we extrapolate from these experiences and practices to learn about asylum seekers/refugees' construction of Britishness and even Scottishness? One could hypothesise that asylum seekers/refugees construct Britishness as a political and cultural identity, which is in accordance with those of policies and media depictions. As a political identity, interviewees might define themselves as British when it suits them including travelling abroad. While the British passport may be a national identity marker, it also suggests that this is not as straightforward as policymakers believe (McCrone and Bechofer 2010). Attaining British citizenship and the citizenship classes and oaths offers political identification rather than a cultural one to migrants. This would support the hypothesis that for some migrants, symbols of national citizenship (passport and classes and oaths) correspond to an affiliation with Britishness (Heath and Robert 2008; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17). British citizenship is therefore an official status and a source of rights that defines the relationship between migrants and the state.

However, some interviewees do not feel British while in the UK, but only while abroad, suggesting that 'dislocations' that migrants experience are important to understanding identity formations and membership. They, however, as explained before, feel Scottish and Scottishness is more of a cultural identity than a source of rights (Heath and Robert 2008; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). Identification is therefore to the 'nation' and is unofficial, while belonging is about how members relate to each other (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17). This is because interviewees perceived the social interaction between asylum seekers/refugees and Scots and some newspapers' positive coverage (Scottish and community ones) to be integral to asylum seekers/refugees' feeling Scottish. Some asylum seekers/refugees therefore do not necessarily perceive Scottishness, in contrast to Britishness as a source of rights or a legal status, as others have argued (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17). In this case, citizenship is different from belonging and identity particularly in the multinational UK state. This would support the hypothesis that symbols of national citizenship should be de-linked from British citizenship (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 17). It has also been suggested in *Chapter 4* that the preference for a Scottish national identity over British is because of long period of residency in Scotland. It could therefore be hypothesised that for many aspiring British citizens, Scottishness would form a large part of their national and cultural identity.

Previous empirical studies and theoretical accounts have highlighted both the efficacy and counterproductivity of granting asylum seekers/refugees British citizenship in developing their feelings of belonging and identity forming, social inclusion and integration (Jurado 2008; Heath and Robert 2008; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). My work seemingly supports that naturalisation, as formal inclusion into citizenship, might not always facilitate feelings of national belonging and national identity with the UK, or the inclusion of asylum seekers/refugees due to other structural inequalities (Hoxsey 2009; Anderson *et al.* 2011; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). This is particularly interesting in the Scottish context because granting British citizenship is a reserved matter. Services are provided differently in Scotland and it has been discussed in this thesis, that asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland relatively enjoy greater access to service provision than their counterparts in England. This implies that devolved governance provides some rights-based citizenship that lessens the structural inequalities faced by asylum seekers/refugees more than the UK state would. It can therefore be expected that access to some rights such as health, education and housing would facilitate asylum seekers/refugees' feelings of national belonging and national identity with Scotland and not necessarily with the UK.

It can also be hypothesised that migrants' civic engagement and participation as 'active' citizens resonates with conceptions of Scotland as a 'civic nation' (Wood 2007: 204). In this case, membership of a political or national community is not based on cultural identity, but on civic and democratic values, albeit limited for asylum seekers/refugees (see Wood 2007: 204; McCrone 2001). My work therefore raises the possibility that localised civic and democratic participation renders the focus on British citizenship as a reward for integrating as debatable. It is also debatable to assume that granting British citizenship would facilitate migrants' sense of belonging and identification with a British cultural, political or national community. Indeed, migrants saw citizenship as crucial for identity forming because it provided them with more of the political, social and economic rights that are crucial for social inclusion. However, interviewees' social actions are instrumental in bridging and bonding with Scotland and the UK. This suggests that integrating into mainstream identities is possible without having British citizenship (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 18). As evidenced thus far, interviewees create spaces for belonging that may not be possible under legal membership. This will support calls for de-linking citizenship as a formal and official status from

citizenship as a feeling of belonging and identity. It also resonates with calls for belonging, identity and social relations to be incorporated into the process of attaining British citizenship (Anderson *et al.* 2011: 557). Prioritising 'belongingness' would make possible migrants' expression and claims to territorial identities including Scottishness. Integration in this case is into an 'imagined' Scottishness and not necessarily to an 'imagined' Britishness. Yet, within these mainstream national identities of host 'nations', migrants including Muslims make claims to 'hyphenated' and transnational identities. This further problematizes the ways legal status or its absence intersects with social statuses of ethnicity and culture. Scottishness and Britishness are therefore not homogenous national or cultural identities. On the contrary, these multiple forms of identities and belongings suggest that host nations' and migrants' homeland identities can coexist. It is another reminder that for some ethnic minorities even though they subscribed to a British culture, they are opposed to an 'assimilationist' approach to cultural or national identity building around a homogenous 'Britishness' (see Stewart and Mulvey 2010). My work therefore raises serious questions about whether territorial (or indeed physical) presence constitutes membership.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

The above analysis suggests that new insights into belonging and identity forming around the 'nation' or other political and cultural identities could be gained from ethnic minority migrants' everyday experiences and practices (Billig 1995; Koser and Lutz 1998). For forced migrants, in addition to other factors explored in *Chapter 4*, their sense of belonging and identity are also shaped by central government (such as through granting them 'formal' citizenship or naturalisation) and by devolved governance (such as through provision of some social citizenship). Most interviewees were aware that much policymaking is predicated on a perception that asylum seekers/refugees are incapable of behaving responsibly or contributing to society and that they pose a threat to what others have called social cohesion, good community relations and the national citizenship (Gifford 2004; Roche 1987; Crick 2000). It has been considered that one explanation for the ways interviewees conceptualised responsible citizenship might be that identity building policies like the introduction of citizenship classes and tests, and the 'good conduct' requirement, for would-be British citizens might have provided the impulse for interviewees' actions. In this case, it could be suggested that interviewees' inclination to demonstrate that they were law-abiding, respectful and contributing to the UK might have been triggered by policy. Interviewees also

claimed that their actions are contestations of media constructions of negative refugee identities. Interviewees felt policymaking as complicit in much of the UK press misrepresentation of asylum. Interviewees' perceptions seem plausible as is evident from the media analysis in *Chapter 6*, (and in other chapters), where the link was explored between media and political elites' anti-asylum discourses. It can therefore be suggested that both policymaking and news reporting help shape asylum seekers/refugees' identity building and identity forming as a kind of response to dominant narratives.

Interviewees felt that social capital 'bridging' through volunteering, is a more efficacious way for facilitating what can be described as their 'responsibilization', orientation to British and Scottish cultural values. It has been explored that interviewees' socially responsible actions are constitutive of claims making for 'Marshallian' access to citizenship rights and entitlements, and recognition of their cultural and national identities. However, such claims making is *in tandem* with taking their responsibilities seriously (Meekosha and Dowse 1997). Their social actions therefore would render questionable those government policies that aim to 'responsibilize' and integrate asylum seeker/refugees into Britishness through social capital 'linking' (Cheong *et al.* 2007). Also questionable is the focus on British citizenship over unofficial forms of responsible 'active' citizenship and community membership. Participation in these communitarian actions are integral to asylum seekers/refugees' claims to national identity be it British, Scottish or homeland. The practices also orientate asylum seekers/refugees into localised identities. The narrative of 'Britishness' or British citizenship in UK policies and media as a cultural or national community to which would be citizens are expected to show allegiance and belonging is therefore delusory (Keating 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010).

This study will therefore contribute knowledge about what makes belonging and identity possible or far-fetched for asylum seekers/refugees. This is especially because previous studies including that of Barclay *et al.* (2003: 40-41) have only focused on local residents and service providers' proactive actions to facilitate the integration of asylum seekers/refugees into the mainstream and good community relations. Asylum seekers/refugees' contributions in this respect have been missing in these analyses. More significantly, the proposed 'version' establishes a linkage between social capital, integration, responsible citizenship and identity processes that has been lacking in the analysis of the role of social capital mobilisation among

asylum seeker/refugees (Ager and Strang 2004)¹⁵. The proposed ‘version’ therefore will contribute to our understanding of how asylum seekers/refugees create spaces for belonging and integrating into mainstream identities.

The proposed version suggests that non-citizens, despite not having British citizenship and being excluded from many ‘Marshallian’ rights, are capable of acting socially responsibly, and are inclined to exercise citizenship responsibilities of their own volition. As a corollary to the above, interviewees’ responsible social actions and beliefs contradict fears expressed elsewhere, and discussed in *Chapter 2*, that asylum-seeking migration, particularly ‘Islamic’ fuelled multiculturalism posed a threat to social cohesion and an imagined ‘Britishness’ (Young 2003; Yuval-Davies *et al.* 2005). Also simplistic was the association made by Trevor Phillips, Chair of what was then the Commission for Race Equality (CRE), between British multiculturalism policy with causing *ghettoisation* or the formation of segregated communities (Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28; Nagel and Staehelli 2008). As explained so far, an asylum seeker/refugee ‘version’ of responsible citizenship is anchored on beliefs about respect, tolerance and “better community relations” as a route towards having a sense of belonging and identity with the nation, social interaction, formation of inter-human relationships and social cohesion. These have the potential to ameliorate social segregation and what in recently public discourse is known as parallel lives between minority - particularly Muslim, and majority communities (Cantle 2001; Mitchell 2004 in Nagel and Staehelli 2004: 12; Cheong *et al.* 2007: 28).

15 The Ager and Strang analysis focused only on refugees, and not on asylum seekers.

Chapter 8

PRIORITISING, TRANSNATIONALISING & ASCRIBING IDENTITIES: THE MEDIA PROBLEMATIC

The preceding chapter has explored how gaining British citizenship would facilitate forced migrants' travel to their homelands because interviewees' believe it would guarantee them safety and security from persecution. It was also discussed that interviewees' actions such as befriending and social events enabled cultural bridging with locals. It was therefore proposed that attaining British citizenship and organising social actions are avenues for asylum seekers/refugees to create spaces for belonging, claims making for recognition and transnational identities and contesting negative constructions of refugee identities. The literature review has explored theoretical perspectives on 'dog whistle' politics that construct asylum seekers in racialised identities. It was highlighted that the scholarly consensus has been that this manner of asylum reporting constitutes 'new racism'. In addition, the literature review and *Chapters 5 & 6* have emphasised that Scotland-based studies have overlooked asylum seekers' interpretations of the racialised coverage (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Mollard 2001; Wilson 2004; Lugo-Ocando 2010). This chapter, therefore, will explore further how these social circumstances and experiences including the media coverage provided the context from which forms of national belonging and national identity are evoked, mobilised and contested among and by forced migrants.

The chapter has two sections. The first will consider why interviewees' social circumstances such as parenthood and anti-asylum policymaking and media coverage act as locations for asylum seekers/refugees' 'hyphenated' and transnational identity formations. The role played by new media technology in this process and in contesting a prescribed British national and cultural identity among interviewees will be considered. The section will further develop the proposition that asylum seekers/refugees' identity building amounts to resisting attempts by the state to shape their national identities. The second section will deploy interviewees' beliefs about UK media constructions of negative refugee identities to provide an asylum seeker conception of 'dog whistle' politics. It will highlight the difficulty in ascertaining which institutions are to blame for the pejorative 'labelling' and 'cultural othering' of asylum seekers/refugees (Lugo-Ocando 2010; Lynn and Lea 2003: 446). The section will also explore

why interviewees' self-perceptions of a media dynamic to asylum seekers' vulnerability to psychosocial wellbeing and their inclusive citizenship is similar to legal and policy instruments (see Sales 2007; Zetter 2007). Inclusive citizenship refers to individuals' access to welfare rights that would facilitate their membership of a political, cultural and national imaginary. While acknowledging the precariousness of claiming media influence, the chapter will argue for an analytical approach on media influence that prioritises the beliefs and meanings constructed among and by forced migrants. This approach, the chapter will argue, should prioritise the common sense views of victim narratives, while not precluding a critical analysis by theorists.

8.1 The Prioritising, Transnationalism & Complexity of Identities

It should be recalled that *Chapter 5* has shown that most interviewees expressed the view that negative coverage contributed to how they prioritise their national identities, in relation to the UK, Scotland or homelands. Attention was drawn to interviewees' tendency to prioritise a Scottish national identity over that of British. This was attributed to a number of factors including perceptions of hostile coverage in the London press over a less hostile one in the Scottish press including community newspapers in their neighbourhoods. As already discussed in *Chapter 5*, all Muslim interviewees said they could be Muslim and Scottish or British, complementing previous studies. My work therefore echoes the findings of Saeed (1999), Hussain and Miller (2003), and Hopkins (2008), who concluded that ethnic minority residents (including citizens and non-citizens) can prioritise their territorial identities in relation to Scottish and British. However, their analyses arguably reflect the reticence in citizenship theorising to consider the media's role in migrants' belonging and identity formations in the UK. Hopkins' (also Saeed *et al.* 1999) and Hussain and Miller's analyses did not account for the ways in which UK media's representations of forced migrants is perceived to play a role in ethnic minorities' experiences of identity. Although their study did not include asylum seekers/refugees, my work suggests that this group of ethnic minorities claimed that the UK media coverage shape their formations of belonging and identities in relation to multilevel states in the UK and at the transnational level. For instance, my work supports their studies in finding that the inclusion-exclusion' and racism or Islamophobia that ethnic minorities encounter might shape their Scottish identity (Hopkins 2007a: 70; also Saeed *et al.* 1999). However, my work found that the exclusion, structural inequality and racism were perceived by interviewees' to be related to media constructions of negative

refugee identities. It should be recalled that interviewees' stories of public hostility and perceptions that negative coverage was to blame made them question their Scottishness or Britishness. As discussed in *Chapters 5 & 7*, most interviewees blamed negative media depictions for British citizens' hostility, especially racism and for "not making them feel welcomed" (Fiso), which, in turn, was perceived to contribute to interviewees' fragility of belonging and identifying with the UK state and the British 'nation'. This finding is revealing because it implies that for some ethnic minorities such as asylum seekers/refugees, they orientate to Britishness through everyday experiences of media treatment of them. In addition, this study resonates with Hopkins in suggesting that there is a transnational network of identifications that connected interviewees with their homelands or ethnicities, as being British-Muslim would suggest (Hopkins 2007a: 68). My work, would also suggest that Bond's (2006) observation that a sense of belonging to a place may be contingent upon an individual's (British citizens) perception of the attitude, behaviour and beliefs of the 'majority' white British citizens (Scots and English) towards others would equally apply to non-citizen migrants. As already stated, interviewees' identity preferences might be read as a 'protest' or resistance against media hostility. It is therefore suggested that the role of news media in understanding individuals' identity formations should be acknowledged in order to account for the complexity and fluidity of identities¹⁶ in the UK as a multinational democracy.

However, my work is significant in contributing to the debate about the methodological problem of asking people to choose identity preferences. Hopkins (2007a: 65) criticised previous research on identity conducted by Saeed (1999) and Hussain and Miller (2002) for being simplistic in asking Muslim Pakistanis in Scotland to prioritise their identities between Scottish, British and English. While Saeed (1999) and Hussain and Miller (2002) made significant contribution to understanding the analytical categories of 'hyphenated' identity, Hopkins argued that they tell us little about the reasons for the identity preferences. My work supports Hopkins' critique and calls for a deeper analysis to understand the meanings and motivations for these 'hyphenated' identity constructions. One key finding of this study is that individuals' claims to 'hyphenated' identities are because of the complexity of their experiences. Choice of identity preference of Scottish over English may not be because

16 All researchers acknowledge that the process of identity formation is complex.

individuals have been asked to, but may be the result of their experiences of the treatment by powerful institutions of society. In this case, prioritising a Scottish identity over English might be a form of resistance to UK government and London newspapers' anti-asylum attitudes (see Hopkins 2007a; Anthias 2002). One can also assume that for many an English identity is irrelevant. Identity is therefore socially constructed and relational, which highlights the need for employing a sociological understanding of migrants' 'dislocations' and positionalities in examining identity formations. It is worth highlighting that focusing on interviewees' experiences of negative coverage does not mean that interviewees did not experience any asylum-friendly coverage in the mainstream press. Indeed, interviewees spoke of positive coverage in some of them, even though the unanimous view was that this was far exceeded by the negative coverage.

Interviewees' mediated belonging and identity formation seemingly suggest one plausible interpretation. Self-perceptions of negative media coverage and attendant public hostility might play a part in asylum seekers/refugees' response to claiming transnational identities, a finding that is significant to our understanding of transnational citizenship of non-citizens, including asylum seekers/refugees. Transnational citizenship, as discussed in the literature review, accords prominence to the internationalisation of identities. In the case of Muslim asylum seekers/refugees, perceptions of negative media coverage that conflated asylum with Islamic terrorism evoked feelings of belonging and national identity to homelands among interviewees. This would suggest the resilience of British multiculturalism. It could therefore be postulated that negative representations of asylum seekers/refugees as 'evil' or "Islamic terrorists" (Lima) in UK newspapers amounts to an 'identity paradox' – rather than facilitating Britishness among migrants that parts of the media (and policies) have promoted, the coverage evoked Muslim interviewees' Scottish-Muslim or British-Muslim 'hyphenated' and transnational identities over an imaginary 'British' identity (see *Chapters 4 & 5*). Interviewees therefore contest the state's territorial construction of identities. This seems to suggest, as others have argued, that national belonging and national identity formations of disenfranchised groups including asylum seeker/refugees may be the product of power relations, in this case media representations of asylum seekers/refugees as 'folk devils' (Pietikainen and Dufva 2006: 211). In this sense, British multiculturalism, and inherent 'hyphenated' identities such as Scottish or British-Muslim is an index of new forms of belonging to citizenship, as well as helping to sustain origins and diasporas (Modood 2005:

3). It could be argued that interviewees' formations of 'hyphenated' UK territorial identities are in contrast to notions of transnational citizenship because the latter prioritises the nation-state over the 'nation'. My work will therefore strengthen criticism of transnational citizenship because it treats the 'nation' and the 'state' as synonymous. For some interviewees, like Scots, they may reside in the UK as a state, yet they prioritise the 'nation', in this case a Scottish national belonging and identity to a British one.

Migrants' identities are also mediated by new media technology. This is another area that this study did not set out to investigate, but was found to be revealing and exciting in understanding refugee identity formation. Although three interviewees provided accounts of this phenomenon, they said their Internet sites are used by many asylum seekers/refugees in the UK and beyond. Sha was a member of the Exile Journalist Network (EJN), which was founded by asylum-seeking journalists residing in the UK to provide a 'voice' to counter the negative coverage of asylum in UK news media. He explained that the organisation used it to raise awareness and contest the misrepresentations of asylum seekers identities and homeland cultures in British media and cultural spaces. The organisation also used it to challenge the repression of free speech and other human rights abuses perpetrated by states against their citizens around the world. Another interviewee participated in FABULA¹⁷, a website used to contest misrepresentations of Latin-American cultures in the UK media and cultural spaces:

I used to do some work in schools, ... I use to take cultural activity to schools in the Lothian from a time. So I have been busy all the time....All the time our views, our thing, are being looked at, reported by others, so that is the great thing with this [website]. It could be bullshit, but it is me doing the talking...I don't need a journalist to write my story.... It [Internet] has given me the tool especially to write. You can see at the end there are people who write their comments. So I communicate with people through this (Alberto)

The sites are deployed to canvass support among British citizens and beyond on behalf of asylum seekers/refugees' right to seek asylum, cultural recognition and contest the liminal identities ascribed to them. The overall feeling of Sha and Alberto was that grassroots support was crucial to influence asylum friendly policy making and media reporting. It could therefore be argued that the sites are a reminder of migrants' agency at self-organising

17 FABULA stands for: Forum of Arts for Better Understanding of Latin American Culture.

towards mobilising British citizens to support their claims making for rights to seek asylum, cultural, political and social recognition and participation within the UK and at the transnational levels. This also implies that interviewees have a sense of belonging and identification with an international humanitarian order and that belonging and identity could not always have to be in relation to a state. Both EJM and FABULA provided interviewees with a 'voice' that they claimed media elites have denied them (Tully 1995; Burgess *et al.*, 2006; Khan 2012c). The sites therefore offer possibilities for challenging an 'imagined' British cultural collectivity, or Britishness that has been promoted by a segment of UK news media and policymaking, as discussed in *Chapters 2 & 6* (see also Joppke 1997; Rudolph 2005).

The use of the Internet to challenge national boundaries transforms these sites into translocational spaces, which Anthias claim should be the focus of analysis instead of the 'nation' in trying to understand the social processes and relations that underpin boundaries of belonging and identity. As I argued elsewhere, the significance of Internet sites for exploring the translocational contexts, belonging and positionalities in migrants' multiple identification is yet to be fully understood (Khan 2012c). Following Anthias, focussing on the 'nation' for exploring belonging and identity is problematic. Instead, focus should be on the translocational spaces such as the Internet that migrants use to contest the territorial construction of national identity. Interviewees might not share any national or ethno-cultural links with others who they network with within the UK, homelands or other countries. The driver for Sha and Alberto's identification with or emotional connectedness with others is based on shared values, experiences and beliefs and not necessarily with individuals they shared an ethno-cultural or national affinity (Morrell 2008). Interviewees' identity forming is therefore in relation to multiple nation-state territories, suggesting that dominant constructions of the state within territorial borders to be precarious. Also precarious is the construction of the state as culturally and nationally homogenous territory (Khan 2012c: 3). As stated in *Chapter 1*, these identity formations also suggest that membership might not be to the nation-state, but to international humanitarian systems. Citizenship therefore is about identity, recognition, and belonging, and less about legal status.

The above analysis suggests a relationship between asylum-seeking migration, citizenship and state sovereignty, which has implications for the politics and institutions of devolved

governance in the UK (Greer 2009: 2), a perspective hitherto overlooked in the literature. Given that international relations and foreign policy is a reserved matter, asylum seekers/refugees' cultural production as a vehicle for mobilising support among Scottish residents, in my view, offers a validation of UK sovereignty over territorial politics. This is because there is a feeling among the cohort that it is only through state sovereignty (asserted through symbols of the passport) that this international human rights and ethical foreign policy agenda can be realised. In this regard, granting them asylum or naturalisation into British citizenship that would prevent their deportation and guarantee them safety rests with the UK government. Nonetheless, as discussed in *Chapter 1*, under devolved governance of social citizenship asylum seekers can access health, education and housing without having British citizenship or full residency rights that are administered by the UK government. It also indicates that devolved governance provides some form of inclusive citizenship, meaning social inclusion, for asylum seekers, which is denied to them by the UK state. In this sense, devolved Scotland undertakes some of its international humanitarian obligations. As discussed above, although all interviewees said they would like to be British citizens, their experiences of structural inequalities and sense of alienation that are partly blamed on hostile coverage (and anti-asylum policies) made them sceptical if they would identify with the mainstream or feel British (Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 69). It is therefore not surprising that interviewees prioritise an affiliation with Scottishness over Britishness.

This will further strengthen calls for researching ethnic minorities' belonging and identity formations and other non-legalistic forms of citizenship (Anderson *et al.* 2011; Hoxsey 2010). In addition, it will strengthen the call for belonging and emotional attachment to be prerequisites for granting British citizenship (Levesley 2008; Morrell 2009). This raises the question about how the territorially specific welfare rights for asylum seekers in Scotland is creating new kinds of citizenship - inclusion, which is instrumental in orientating to belonging and identification with Scotland – in the multinational state (Keating 2009). It would also imply that under devolved governance, individuals are no longer governed under the principle of a political community or state sovereignty and begs the question should 'legal' citizenship matter anymore (Giddens 1990). For asylum seekers/refugees, it does, because acquiring British citizenship by naturalisation or birth right guarantee them security from deportation. British citizenship is conferred by the UK government and membership is both to the UK state as a political community that exerts sovereignty and Scotland as a

cultural (national) community (Gustafson 2002: 464). It is therefore spurious to assume that the 'nation' as a cultural community must correspond with the 'political community' and the 'state' (Keating 2009: 505). For forced migrants, the boundaries of belonging and identity are disputed, contingent and multiple just as they are for Scots themselves, affirming that devolved governance renders the narrative of citizenship as a national and political community and belonging to a state with homogenous cultural identity as spurious (Hoxsey 2011; Keating 2009).

8.2 'Dog whistle' Politics – towards a victims' paradigm?

Chapter 2 discussed an elitist or normative conception of 'dog whistle' politics and highlighted that it describes political and media elites' anti-asylum and racist messages (Manning 2004). *Chapters 2 & 6* explored that such racialised depictions of refugee identities usually in the right wing UK press constitute covert racism (Every and Augoustinos 2007: 431). These chapters noted that the covert nature of this discursive strategy may enable journalists to escape accusations of racism and to circumvent anti-racist legislation in the West (Fear 2007: 2). Nonetheless, *Chapter 5* explored that asylum seekers/refugees were able to decode the embedded racism. For example, the data revealed that many interviewees felt that such pejorative 'labelling' is intrinsic to parts of the media's racial and social categorisation of asylum seekers/refugees, which the literature review identified as 'new racism'. 'New racism' constitutes the discursive strategies for 'cultural othering' of asylum seekers/refugees as 'folk devils' with demeaning cultural and national identities and as a threat to an imagined British cultural or national identity (Lugo-Ocando 2010; Lynn and Lea 2003: 446; Anderson 1991). Yet, asylum seekers/refugees' meanings, understandings and experiences of these media racist messages are poorly understood.

This would warrant the question – what can one make of interviewees' interpretations of the anti-asylum UK newspapers' coverage that is relevant to processes of identity in the UK? From the evidence in *Chapter 5*, interviewees' understandings of, and beliefs about UK media and its coverage of asylum seekers/refugees converged with normative accounts of 'dog whistle' politics in political communication. Firstly, interviewees, as theorists and commentators, seemed to suggest that media and political elites might collude to communicate anti-asylum messages that are covertly racist. As the media monitoring and the review of the 1990s/2000s studies suggests, the collusion is more likely to occur between

media and political elites who share the same political leanings, widely perceived as right wing (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006; Fear 2007: vi). Fear (2007: iv) argued that such political affinity is crucial for the interpretation of the coded message by not only the target audience with similar views and sympathies, but also by allies of 'dog whistling' politicians in the media (also Clark and Campbell 2000). The target audience are sections of the 'imagined' British citizens with 'superior' cultural identity (Clark and Campbell 2000). Secondly, it was explored that 'labelling' through stock words or phrases to portray asylum seekers/refugees in demeaning social identities in the anti-asylum press underlies 'dog whistling' and 'new racism' (Miller 1979: 162), a view shared by interviewees. For instance, *Chapter 6* and the 1990/2000 studies found, stock words or phrases such as 'illegals', 'spongers', 'scum', 'rapists', 'those cheating the system' and 'people who should not be here' were ascribed to asylum seekers/refugees. However, despite the offensive nature and the racialised categorisation that underlined the 'labelling' (Finney and Robinson 2009: 401), it is very difficult to accuse journalists of overt racism. Thirdly, as discussed in *Chapter 5*, most interviewees' interpretations were that, under the façade of exercising and protecting free speech, media and political elites engage in negative stereotypical representations of asylum seekers/refugees. By so doing, politicians and journalists escape accusations of subtly peddling racism (Every and Augoustinos 2007; Fear 2007). In my view, as those of others (Fear 2007; Manning 2004) a consequence of 'dog whistle' politics is the attendant public hostility or as interviewees put it "make people scared of asylum seekers" (Hael). Interviewees expressed the view that the 'scaremongering' serves as a precursor to anti-asylum policymaking to prevent a perceived 'flooding' by asylum seekers that is a threat to social cohesion and Britishness (see Manning 2004; Ejarvec 2003).

However, notwithstanding the similarities, interviewees' description of, and beliefs about UK media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees constitutes a critique of normative assumptions about 'dog whistle' politics. *Chapter 5* explored that in addition to racial motivations, interviewees' explanations for much of UK media negative representations include the news media as sites for pursuing hidden agendas such as anti-asylum political beliefs and financial interest; and journalism being imbued with professional ignorance. The media monitoring explored the reality of some of these perceptions, suggesting the ability of asylum seekers/refugees to decode the subterranean racist media messages. The UK media's ethnic minority readership, as subjects of 'dog whistling' therefore might not be the 'naïve'

consumers of media stories. The *a priori* assumption by theorists that the targets of ‘dog whistle’ politics are incapable of decoding the covert racist and pejorative message embodied in media news stories therefore deserves rethinking. It is a simplistic assumption that has overlooked the sophistication of readership, particularly the ethnic or social minority communities that are the subject of ‘dog whistling’.

One way to explain ‘dog whistle’ politics in parts of the media could be adduced from what most interviewees felt: that the inflammatory stories from one newspaper were reproduced in other newspapers as amplified distortions. Newspapers and their readerships also in turn participate in the chain of amplifications as they embellish these stories thereby compounding the distortions before disseminating them as already explained by Hael (see quote in 5.2, p149). Hael’s quote is a reminder that public perceptions of asylum seekers might have been framed by media constructions of negative refugee identities. The negative constructions are not only recirculated by newspapers, but also by locals who have not read them. While the use of reported speech to narrate public opinion strengthens the credibility of his story of a media dynamic, it also suggests that this relationship is complex. It might be that labelling and the ‘dog whistling’ or in interviewees’ metaphor ‘Chinese whispering’ and perceptions of the attendant ‘scaremongering’ might not be solely blamed on the media. He is saying that the public is also culpable for the negative constructions. Nonetheless, his self-perception as those of ‘dog whistle’ theorists is journalists are likely to reproduce unwittingly phraseology, labels and distortions embedded in the messages of politicians (Fear 2007).

Additionally, interviewees’ perception of a variation in asylum coverage in relation to political geography or devolved governance in the UK would shed more light on, or compound the problematic of, the intersection of collusion and ‘dog whistling’. As explored in *Chapter 6*, the Scottish press was broadly perceived as more asylum-friendly than the London press, a finding that is consistent with that of Bowes *et al* (2009). As discussed in *Chapter 5*, interviewees attributed the variation to public and political support for asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland:

To be fair, the media over here in Scotland is far more balanced. You can see the debate over asylum and immigration. You can see that in Scotland they have taken over a leadership role in terms of supporting asylum seekers in allowing them to stay. You can see how local communities are fighting for this, schoolteachers are coming

out in support. It tells you that the tone is somewhat different to down South [England]...(Seth)

Many interviewees claimed that campaigns against the treatment of children asylum seekers and ‘dawn raids’ by local residents might have compelled politicians and the media to “tone down” (Seth) anti-asylum rhetoric in Scotland. Interviewees’ analyses concurred with findings concerning the Scottish dimension discussed in *Chapter 6*. As revealed reporting of ‘dawn raids’ and the detention of asylum-seeker children in both Scottish newspapers and the mainly anti-asylum ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ including the *Sun* and *Daily Express*, was innocuous. This would suggest that Sim and Bowes’ (2007) postulation that asylum coverage has relatively improved by mid-2000 to have some basis. It needs emphasising that self-perceptions of the Scottish press as more asylum-friendly than the London one did not imply the absence of ‘dog whistling’. As demonstrated in *Chapter 6*, there were instances of anti-asylum coverage in Scotland, albeit minimal in relation to those in the London press. In this regard, the perception of a correlation between the Scottish Government stance and policies on asylum seekers/refugees and the Scottish press coverage makes interviewees’ accusations of collusion to be probably misplaced.

A plausible explanation for the apparent collusion has to do with exigencies of media communication, which prioritise political news especially that related to asylum, given that it as a political issue in the UK (Chandler 2006). In this respect, news reporting may not necessarily be a deliberate collusion as alleged by interviewees. Neither is it always driven by financial considerations as interviewees believed, but perhaps by a desire to inform and disseminate stories based on ‘newsworthiness’. In this case, news reporting may be motivated by the desire to inform and disseminate news based on political importance (Buchanan and Grillo 2003). In addition, collusion between media and political elites may not always be deployed towards negative representations and ‘dog whistle’ politics. Collusion might be innocuous and deployed towards positive representations. This is not to say that interviewees’ accusations of agenda setting and collusions between media and political elites lacked reality. It may be that media elites are more disposed towards aligning their coverage with those of the public, politicians and policymakers. As Law (2001) observed this might be based on political geography, and an indication that media outlets, particularly newspapers, have an inclination (or even an expectation on them) to anticipate national readership (Law

2001: 300). It implies that collusion towards agenda setting might not be intended as interviewees might think, but an inadvertent exigency of political reporting.

This begs the question – who is responsible for the labelling that construct negative refugee identity? Zetter has argued that policymaking is to blame for labelling refugees in pejorative terms as “illegal, bogus and failed asylum seekers” (2007: 172). However, he was silent on the role of the media in this process even though he was exploring the relationship between labelling refugees, as a ploy used by nation-states in the West to abdicate their international humanitarian obligations to uphold the rights of asylum seekers/refugees, and their exclusion from citizenship (Zetter 2007: 184). As both the media monitoring and asylum seekers/refugees’ perceptions revealed, parts of UK media have been equally complicit in politicising the refugee label that Zetter argued has implications for asylum-seeking migrants’ inclusion in citizenship. While *Chapter 5* explored that interviewees also agreed that policymakers have been originators of labels, interviewees’ equally claimed some media elites participated in the production, communication and dominance of certain labels, particularly the pejorative ones. The media analysis found this to be the case. The monitoring also revealed that some political and media elites have been complicit in the ‘subverted and politicised transformation of the refugee label’ as a collective identity under international humanitarian law.

Notwithstanding the above controversy in explaining and ascertaining whom to blame for the ‘dog whistling’, the characterisation of ‘dog whistle’ politics by interviewees begs the question as to whether this warrants an asylum seeker paradigm. My view is that this is the case because interviewees’ tender their perspectives on the *modus operandi* in political reporting. As a paradigm, it departs from the elitist, but simplistic assumption that the victims of ‘dog whistle’ politics are incapable of decoding the embedded ‘racist’ messages. It may be countered that *Chapter 6* and Kaye’s analyses of press coverage of asylum in the 1990’s suggested overt inflammatory anti-asylum representations in much of UK press (1998; 2001), which would render my postulation as superfluous. Nonetheless, my contention is that the hypothesis that some media elites who indulge in ‘dog whistling’ are more likely to escape accusations of racism and to circumvent legal prosecution, than to conceal their anti-asylum agenda is plausible. One can therefore suggest that interviewees’ interpretations constitute a

micro-level or sociological paradigm of understanding the *modus operandi* in ‘dog whistle’ politics of reporting.

Also overlooked in the academy is how this perception of a media dynamic in identity ascriptions stigmatises and causes asylum seekers/refugees psychosocial trauma or problems (meaning being ashamed, self-perceptions of stigma, social alienation and isolation). The way such self-perceptions intersect with asylum seekers/refugees’ fragility of identification with Britishness and Scottishness is also under-explored. I have explored the hypothesis in *Chapter 6* that parts of the news media assign asylum seekers/refugees with pejorative cultural identities and liminal social status. *Chapter 5* explored that interviewees partly blamed the hostile treatment for their stigmatisation, public hostility and psychosocial problems in ways similar to that which interviewees and theoretical accounts attributed to government policies (Cheong *et al.*, 2007; Tyler 2006: 199). For instance, many interviewees claimed that the public hostility and psychosocial trauma generated by much of negative depictions made them feel unwelcome and disempowered to participate in service delivery. Exclusion from service provision is perceived to also hinder the developing of identification with their neighbourhoods, Scotland or the UK. It was discussed that this suggests that media hostility has concrete outcomes for subjects of the coverage such as the inability to identify with and integrate into an ‘imagined’ cultural and national community (Gillespie, 2007; Speers, 2001). It was also discussed that this suggests that identification with a place (locality or the UK) is contingent upon migrants’ perceptions of British citizens’ (including journalists) attitudes, behaviour and stereotypical beliefs towards them. It should be noted that interviewees’ experiences of UK citizens’ anti-asylum language or ‘labelling’, which questions asylum seekers/refugees’ right to belong to the UK and their identity, echoes that of media and political discourses, which construct a White British identity through ‘othering’ (Lynn and Lea 2003; Ferguson and Walters 2005; Leudar *et al.* 2007: 35; Haynes *et al.* 2009). It could therefore be hypothesised that having a sense of identification with a place (locality or the UK) is contingent upon the attitude, behaviour and beliefs of British citizens towards migrants (Khan 2012a). Interviewees’ perceptions therefore will highlight concern raised by Anthias (2006: 19) and Waite (2012: 359) that for individuals to have a feeling of belonging, they have to feel accepted by the wider community. In addition, their experiences are a reminder that granting British citizenship without addressing the causes including the role of powerful non-state institutions in experiences of such structural inequalities and racism would

hinder migrants' feeling of national belonging and national identity to the UK. As explained in the preceding chapter, interviewees' perceptions would therefore raise serious questions on the linkage between British citizenship and issues around public hostility, racism, inequality and exclusion. As others have postulated (Kofman 1995; Powell 1995; Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 18), and discussed in *Chapters 5 & 7* even where migrants are granted British citizenship through naturalisation and therefore automatic welfare rights, many experience inequality, exclusion and racism, which are bound to affect their identification with the polity. As discussed in the introductory chapter, this would render the 'Marshallian' notion of citizenship that assumes that having membership would automatically lead to having a shared identity, equality and inclusion of excluded groups in the political community as illusory (Young 1989: 128; Kymlicka and Norman 1999: 370).

This finding of perceptions of a media dynamic to asylum seekers/refugees' psychosocial problems should be accorded prominence in the analysis of the relevance of inclusion or exclusion in migrant formation of national belonging and national identity. Interviewees' narratives resonate with Sales' (2007) observation that UK government policies subject asylum-seeking migrants to both formal and informal exclusion. For Sales (2007), formal exclusion refers to the ineligibility of asylum-seeking migrants from accessing certain forms of benefits. It also entails the structural inequalities and restrictions on political participation that are imposed by the state on asylum seekers/refugees (Sales 2007: 181). Informal exclusion, on the other hand, refers to processes such as the impact of poverty or poor language skills that migrants' experience that hinders their ability to access services (Sales 2007: 181). However, interviewees' narratives suggest that Sales' policymaking/structuralist paradigm¹⁸ to understanding the inclusion-exclusion that asylum seekers experience in the polity could be better understood if we focus on interviewees' beliefs of a media dynamic to their exclusion (Khan 2013). Indeed, all interviewees said anti-asylum policies mainly contributed to asylum seekers/refugees' exclusion from welfare and economic activity including participation in the labour market (see Barclay *et al.* 2003; Ager and Strang 2004; Bowes *et al.* 2009; Stewart and Mulvey 2010). Interviewees also claimed that the impact of such policies on their psychosocial wellbeing is similar to that of media hostility. These hindered their ability to develop identification with the UK, as argued by other studies

¹⁸ My words.

reviewed earlier. Given interviewees' perceptions, one can hypothesise that media is another culprit of social exclusion and should be central to the analysis of asylum seekers/refugees' inclusion-exclusion from welfare services. My work will also support calls by Georgiou (2010: 11-12) for policy in cultural and political representation spheres to prioritise the experiences of some minority groups to understand how their ability to develop a sense of exclusion and alienation is impinged by dominant media narratives. It might be that media and policy impact on asylum seekers/refugees' vulnerability to exclusion, inequality and psychosocial wellbeing differ in magnitude. However, it is a victim centred approach to understanding the role of powerful institutions such as news media in exclusion and orientations to identities among asylum seekers/refugees. This will develop an understanding of news media role in asylum seekers/refugees' emotional trauma and exclusion from service provision.

Interviewees' views should be read with caution in that they are filtered through interviewees, and therefore these claims would merit an empirical investigation among the broader UK population. While *the Daily Record* story quoted in *Chapter 7* (see 7.2) lends some credibility to interviewees' views of the positive outcome of their awareness raising interventions among British citizens, my analysis did not test for the veracity of interviewees' perceptions among locals. This is because this study was not aimed at exploring psychosocial problems that asylum seekers/refugees face or how the media representation contributed to these. The findings are another example of how this study grew in significance beyond what was anticipated. Hitherto, empirical studies have been limited to the impact of migration and citizenship policies on asylum seekers/refugees psychosocial afflictions, particularly emotional trauma they suffered. Nonetheless, interviewees' beliefs were that parts of the UK media contributed to the structural inequalities and racism that afflicted their community. These, in turn, would in ways similar to government policies, hinder migrants' participation in service provision and ability to develop a feeling of identification with an 'imagined' Britishness (see Tyler 2006: 199; Hynes 2007; Sales 2007: 5 Stewart and Mulvey 2010: 69). This study is therefore not making claims about media causality or that the media is claimed by interviewees to be the only culprit for their psychosocial problems. Indeed, other factors such as lack of language skills were also blamed:

I was living in Riverford, Shawbridge...Just because the language was a barrier so I was busy studying English. Once I found myself able to speak English I involved in the community. It helps to improve the English....It is better than staying at home. You know, if we stay at home, we have no family here, if we don't do that we don't keep busy. We will be mad, so I faced this experience before it was the language, even I went to the college and I was busy with children, but I had many free time. It was horrible time if you stay at home just thinking or feel isolated, it is a horrible feeling (Marie).

The above narrative suggests that inability to speak English would cause asylum seekers/refugees psychosocial problems including being socially isolated and 'going mad'. However, it could be recalled that this person claimed that negative media narratives of refugee identities as 'animals' and 'not well educated' made them 'demoralised' and 'fed up' (see full quote in 5.2). One can therefore assumed that once Marie was able to speak English and start to socialise beyond her home and family, her ability to read media stories subjected her to another trauma.

My analysis therefore recognises that any findings relating to media influence should be received with caution (Wood and King 2001: 3). Indeed, one should be mindful of the problematic of empirically investigating media influence because media messages and their reception by audiences undergo a complex process of filtering that makes ascertaining a 'cause and effect' relationship between news media and any social phenomena a risky project (Jensen 1991; Kaye 2001; Coleman and Spiller 2003). Asylum seekers/refugees are social beings and it has been disclosed in *Chapter 3* that this study's cohort are of diverse socio-demographic backgrounds. This diversity filters their experiences and interpretations of news reporting. It has also been explored in *Chapter 4* that there are other factors including anti-asylum policies that influence asylum seekers/refugees' formations of belonging and identity.

Another critique might be that interviewees' perceptions reflect 'common sense' views. Why this might be valid, it should not preclude an analytical engagement with interviewees' experiences. This study has approached this methodological critique in investigating media influence by focussing on the 'perceptions' of asylum seekers/refugees. Perceptions incorporate beliefs and subjectivities that are products of individual and collective experiences (Stalker 1998). Such beliefs, as others have argued, affect attitudes and behaviour as well as inter-group relations that would impinge on individuals' feelings of belonging and identity forming (Jensen 1991; Haynes et al. 2009: 3). The possibility that these perceptions

might be misplaced has been addressed in this thesis by proffering my own critical interpretation of interviewees' narratives. Given these methodological caveats, my work would strengthen calls for citizenship and cultural studies theorising to account for media influence in the ways marginalised groups experience citizenship social processes. Being averse to recognise that media influence perceptions and beliefs of victims of the coverage, makes us (researchers) vulnerable to accusations of complicity in forced migrants' marginalisation and exclusion. This approach is no less morally and ethically tenable than officialdom or media elites' misrepresentation of refugee identities and experiences of persecution that led forced migrants to seek asylum. Interviewees' eagerness to share their insight on how their ability to develop identification with Britishness is being hindered by much of the negative coverage indicates that this is an issue of socio-political significance to them. They offer us a window into what makes feeling of belonging and identity possible or farfetched for forced migrants (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005). We might not be in a position to prove media causality or influence. However, as Silverstone and Georgiou observed, at least, we should entertain the idea that the actions of powerful institutions of society have concrete outcomes for forced migrants' orientations to social processes of citizenship (2005: 929; also Hoxsey 2011; Jones 2006; Marvin and Ingle 1999). In addition, this is how victims of media hostility perceived their social world. As Hart (2007: 1) argued, media's social construction influence the way that media consumers perceive "their world regardless of their lack of inherent validity". We should also entertain the possibility that subordinate groups mobilise identities as a response to different events such as media hostility (see Gillespie 2007). A rethink is therefore needed in our approach to understanding victim narratives no matter whether such accounts are common sense views, contradictory or unpalatable to established epistemological positions of researching media influence on migrants' 'lived' experiences of social processes.

8.3 Concluding Remarks

This discussion further highlighted that belonging and identity formations are nuanced and complex. It has been explored that individuals in multi-level states could prioritise their belonging and identities, which are not only based on national, but also on ethnic and cultural imaginaries (Sales 2007: 181; Phillips and Berman 2003; Kymlicka 2001: 25; Favell 2001). It has also been explored that racialised minorities would undertake acts to manage public anxieties, often triggered by news media, that asylum-seeking migration is a threat to

multiculturalism and social cohesion (see Gillespie 2007: 280). In addition, it has been considered that migrants' prioritising Scottishness over Britishness and expression of transnational identities would raise questions about a notion of Britishness that is skewed in favour of the majority White conception.

The discussion is also a reminder that debates about citizenship, especially who belong or does not belong to an 'imagined' community, be it national, cultural or political, are about claims making for rights for cultural recognition and respect (Stewart 2000; Dean 2001; Fraser 2003: 22; Dwyer 2008: 7). As claims-based, rights are often the locus of contestations by marginalised individuals or groups seeking social equality and the redistribution of resources (Dean 2001; Gordon and Stack 2007). They are rooted in the struggles of social and ethnic minorities in the state or the 'nation', including multinational states, who felt excluded from the identities of the 'political community' and are seeking recognition for their socio-cultural identities, aspirations and values (Nordberg 2006). In the context of asylum seekers/refugees that are not fully fledged members of British citizenry, claims making is part of a struggle for recognition and an embodiment of belonging and identity, and not just a legal status to be conferred by the state (Lister *et al.*, 2007; Fraser 2003). Claims making is also a struggle for respect and recognition of their status as members of the transnational community.

This conceptualisation of citizenship contradicts the 'Marshallian' model of citizenship that failed to recognise the ethnic and cultural diversities in political membership (Pakulski 1997: 83). Unlike Marshall, asylum seeker/refugee migrants conceptualised citizenship as the right to be different, and predicating full cultural participation and inclusion of society's members on the recognition and respect for ethnic minority identities (Pakulski 1997: 83; Lister *et al.* 2007: 51). In this case, difference in cultural identities should not preclude access to British citizenship and access to rights. This conception of citizenship has implications for Scotland. This is because the cultural affinity that some interviewees shared with an 'imagined' Scottishness was considered a facilitator of feeling Scottish. Interviewees might not have British citizenship, but claimed they have shared cultural belonging and identity with Scotland. Nonetheless, the above suggests that claims making to citizenship by non-citizens may not only emanate from structural inequalities and policymaking in the state as normally portrayed in citizenship theorising. It might be based on an individuals' experience with

institutions such as the media. In the case of asylum seekers/refugees, negative media coverage and the exclusion of their voices and perspectives on debates about who belong or does not belong to an 'imagined' British cultural and national imaginary shape their claims making for citizenship and attendant rights that come with it.

This chapter has also suggested that there is media agency in asylum seekers/refugees' formations of national belonging and national identity. The media agency amounts to a paradox: while much of the coverage has questioned ethnic minorities' ability to inculcate a feeling of belonging and integrate into a British national and cultural imaginary (Khan 2012*a*, *b*, 2013), it incidentally serves as a driver for asylum seekers/refugees' transnational identities. This paradox is inadvertent, a function of the ambiguity in drawing media causality to asylum seekers/refugees ability to develop a feeling of belonging and identity with an 'imagined' Britishness. Further, the paradox is the product of interviewees' contestations of media ascriptions of inferior social and cultural identities to asylum seekers/refugees.

It has been discussed that asylum seekers/refugees' claimed the media hostility has psychosocial consequences for them, which in turn contribute to their fragility of national belonging and identity. It has therefore been argued that attention should be paid to the psychosocial ramifications of negative representations of the asylum issue in the same way as has been accorded to the role played by policymaking. The policymaking approach has dominated our understanding of the exclusion-inclusion of asylum seekers/refugees in the welfare state in the West including the UK, as Sales typology suggested (Sales 2007). My work has therefore deployed empirical evidence to suggest the role of UK media in understanding asylum seekers/refugees' inclusion-exclusion and alienation from the mainstream, which Scotland based studies have overlooked.

Finally, this chapter has argued that interviewees' views function as an asylum seeker paradigm in understanding and describing labelling and 'dog whistle' politics in asylum reporting, and offer the possibility of re-evaluating the concept. Theoretical and normative approaches to understanding the mechanics of 'dog whistling' are simplistic. They underestimate the proactive and analytical power of victims of negative media coverage, and its embedded 'dog whistling' as well as the exigencies of political reporting. In this sense, the chapter has argued that theorists overlooked the complexity of 'dog whistle' politics, and

manifestations of ‘new racism’ as a socio-political phenomenon (Miller 1979: 162). It is therefore plausible that interviewees’ beliefs about the pejorative coverage through racist ‘labelling’ could function as an asylum seeker paradigm in understanding and describing ‘dog whistle’ politics in political communication.

9.1 Overview of Thesis

This study's rationale was to understand asylum seekers/refugees' orientations to national belonging and national identity, and the perceived importance of the UK media in this affective dimension of citizenship. As an empirical study, its findings have been deployed to test for and to critique policymaking, theorising and media accounts about non-UK citizens' sense of belonging to and identification with the UK, Scotland and their homelands. In this regard, the thesis has explored the hypothesis that asylum seekers/refugees' national belonging and national identity formations are complex and contingent upon their everyday experiences and social circumstances. In addition, the study is based on the assumption that asylum seekers/refugees' belonging and identity formations, as social constructs and indeed processes of citizenship, cannot be understood in isolation of the high visibility of the asylum issue in British media between 1990 and mid-2000. This media role in migrants' belonging and identity formations is poorly understood, as are the opinions of asylum seekers/refugees, who constitute media audiences and are victims of the coverage.

To embark on this task, the thesis started by providing, in *Chapter 1*, an explanation of national belonging and national identity. Specifically, it explored why feelings of belonging to and identity with the nation are considered to be more important than citizenship and the attendant 'Marshallian' access to rights in the multinational UK state. Its core argument was, like citizens, non-citizens can have a feeling of belonging to and identity with a national, cultural or political community, irrespective of exclusion from or having access to 'Marshallian' rights. In this case, the chapter explored the idea that belonging and identity may not be about state rights, obligations and entitlements that have to be protected by the nation-state, but by other institutions, communities or national territories within and beyond the state. Access to rights or membership therefore need not be limited to those prescribed by Marshall or the state, neither are they contingent upon territorial presence. Specific reference was made to the devolved governance in the UK where non-citizens such as asylum

seekers/refugees can have some social rights (such as access to health, housing and education but not benefits) and expected to perform some obligations and responsibilities. This would suggest that belonging and identity are more important than ‘Marshallian’ rights because membership and the boundaries of belonging are based on residency rather than citizenship.

In addition, the chapter provided the rationale for researching asylum seekers/refugees and issues of identity within the broader context of the UK and the specific context of devolved Scotland. It noted that asylum has been used in political and media rhetoric for framing the debate about migrants’ belonging to an ‘imagined’ British national and cultural community and acquisition of British citizenship. Yet, it was noted that the conceptions of Britishness are opaque and contested. It was also highlighted that many contemporary notions of citizenship associate it with non-state nuances, which makes Scotland’s lack of statehood problematic for citizenship to be a surrogate for national belonging. It was also highlighted that Scotland has been characterised as a country whose inhabitants (both whites and ‘hyphenated’ or ethnic minority Scots) have shown a multiple sense of belonging and identities, particularly in relation to Scotland and the UK. The chapter therefore explained that understanding belonging and identity formations among migrants can be potentially complex, and that asylum seekers/refugees provided an opportunity to explore these issues. This included the need to address the paucity of accounts of asylum seekers/refugees’ experiences, meanings and contestations of national belonging and national identity. It was therefore noted that this thesis is a response to call for a ‘bottom-up’ understanding of forms of belonging and identity within the contemporary nation-state and how powerful institutions of society such as the media are perceived by media audiences (asylum seekers/refugees) to shape their experiences of these processes.

The ways UK newspapers are operationalized in the study was also explained in this chapter, highlighting that this study explored in more detailed than before the distinction of the asylum coverage between ‘Scottish’, ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’. It was noted that the rationale for the distinction was that UK newspapers are often homogenised as ‘British’ or ‘national’ and that London titles purport to speak for the whole of Britain, subsuming the national identity of Scotland as a ‘stateless nation’. It was explained that the routinized coverage of asylum as a threat to the national community is susceptible to

nationalistic rhetoric and therefore made asylum an interesting area to explore UK press coverage of asylum as a 'scare story' in relation to media's imagining of the 'nation'.

Chapter 2 went on to provide a theoretical, policymaking and empirical review of these issues. It specifically explored why traditional and contemporary conceptions of British citizenship were anchored on national belonging and national identity. It expanded on Marshall's account by exploring how historically British citizenship was about granting political, social, civil and economic rights to individuals to enable them inculcate a feeling of belonging and identification with the political community. The chapter identified the shortcomings of this 'Marshallian' notion to cater for the rights and equality of women and other members of the polity with culturally diverse backgrounds. It also noted that multinational membership of the contemporary UK state caused national belonging and national identity formations and what constitutes political and national community to be contested.

After tracing the historical trajectory of belonging and identity, the chapter went on to explore the relevance of these social processes within contemporary notions of citizenship, namely, responsible 'active', multicultural and transnational citizenships. Their advantages and disadvantages in making possible or impossible individuals' belonging and identity forming around national and cultural imaginaries were discussed. The chapter again reminded the reader that increased inward migration, particularly asylum-seeking to be mainly responsible for igniting the debate about these new kinds of 'non-legal' status of citizenship. More importantly, it was reviewed that the then government thought that promoting responsible 'active' citizenship would facilitate migrants' ability to develop a feeling of belonging to and identity with British cultural values, responsible behaviour and social cohesion. Similarly, theorists proposed multicultural and transnational citizenships as a way of transforming citizenship from its legalistic conception and 'assimilationist' goal to one that would accommodate the national, cultural and ethnic diversity of belonging and identities in the West.

Yet, the chapter reviewed how UK citizenship policies continued to promote 'Britishness' or a singular 'imagined' British national and cultural identity that renders multicultural and responsible citizenship (as theoretical constructs) to continue to be illusory. These policies

were critiqued for being ‘assimilationist’ and aimed at managing the media and public unease over uncontrollable asylum as a threat to Britishness. In addition to these imperatives, it was explained that the policies were intended to deter asylum seekers from entering the UK. The review noted that by prescribing British cultural values and identity, government policies mark boundaries of national belonging and national identity. Nonetheless, media elites equally matched the delineating of who, what and how to belong to the political community. This kind of coverage was traced from the 1990s to the mid-2000s when asylum became visible in political and media debates. The continuities and departures in the coverage, during this period, were noted and it was concluded that such coverage was mainly racialised, pejorative and ideological. These in turn, the chapter argued, perpetuated an image of the outsider ‘other’ with inferior cultural and social status and posing a threat to British cultural homogeneity, social cohesion and state sovereignty. By so doing, the chapter reiterated the observations in the introductory chapter that news media provided the enabling environment for the formulation of asylum, immigration and citizenship policies to integrate or assimilate would be UK citizens into an ‘imagined’ Britishness. It was also suggested that identities were therefore upheld, constructed and re-circulated by news media in ways similar to policymaking. The chapter went on to explore that this kind of coverage made feelings of national belonging and national identity either possible or far-fetched for migrants, which would imply news media can be a ‘citizenship-forming’ and identity building institution.

A similar conceptual framework was provided in *Chapter 3* with reference to the object and aims of study, research questions and the justifications of choices made. As the research design chapter, this part of the thesis provided a detailed explanation of the methodology used and its suitability to investigate the intersection of asylum seekers/refugees’ orientations to belonging and identity and media treatment of the asylum issue. It drew attention to how the interview and media data were gathered and analysed, and how they complemented each other in a way that enabled our understanding of key issues to be investigated by this study. Nonetheless, the chapter alerted the reader to the limitations of each data gathering method and analysis. The chapter explained the utility of employing ideas of ‘intersectionality’ and ‘translocational positionality’ in understanding issues of identity to enable a sociological understanding of both migrants’ discursive patterns and practices of identifications with a place. The insights generated by the researcher’s ‘insider’ status were discussed to develop an understanding on its advantages and limitations for researching vulnerable groups.

Having provided the research context, reviewed the relevant literature and discussed the data gathering and analytical strategies employed in the study, the research findings were then presented and discussed in the rest of the thesis. *Chapter 4* presented the first of these findings and explored the non-rights based facilitators of feelings of belonging to and identity with the UK, Scotland, homelands and any other community among asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. The analysis drew upon theoretical and empirical accounts identified in the literature review relating to the motivations for ethnic minorities' feeling of national belonging and identity including that of Britishness and Scottishness. The chapter specifically explored the ways migrants including Muslims prioritise 'Scottishness' to that of 'Britishness' in the multinational UK state. It found that migrants were more inclined to identify with Scottishness than Britishness in ways that other studies found to be similar to the broader UK population. However, in contrast to British citizens, the colonial connection was found to contribute to many migrants' claim to feeling British on the grounds that historically Britishness was perceived as an umbrella identity nesting multiple national and cultural identities. The impact of birth and residency, parenthood, cultural diversity and public attitude and behaviour towards asylum seekers/refugees' belonging and identity forming were also discussed. The chapter therefore concluded that identity formations were complex, contingent and nuanced and a reflection of the social circumstances ('locations', 'dislocations' or 'positionalities') and other everyday experiences of asylum-seeking migrants. The findings therefore posed serious questions about the linking of national belonging with national and cultural identities in the multinational UK state. It was difficult to say if interviewees, as is scholarly opinion, agreed about whether Britishness is a cultural or national identity or both. At least it was discerned that Scottishness was perceived as both a cultural and national identity by many asylum seekers/refugees. The chapter therefore would reignite the contested nature of what constitutes Britishness, the political and national community within the Scottish devolved context. Nonetheless, *Chapter 4* suggested that migrants brought with them transnational identities that contribute to the resilience of British or Scottish multiculturalism.

Chapter 5 specifically focussed on interviewees' perception of the influence of UK news media in these affective dimensions of citizenship. This is especially because, as *Chapters 1, 2 & 3* noted, this was based on the assumption that there had been an absence of a detailed

empirical examination of the mediated belonging and identity formation of asylum seekers/refugees in the UK. The chapter therefore explored how media depictions could have concrete outcomes for asylum seekers/refugees. It also explored how such depictions and attendant outcomes provided the context for evoking, narrating, contesting and imagining national belonging and national identity by and among asylum seekers/refugees. In this respect, the chapter discussed perceptions of a strong feeling among some asylum seekers/refugees that parts of the UK press, particularly the right wing, assigned asylum seekers/refugees with pejorative cultural identities. Interviewees, in turn, partly blamed this for the public hostility that plays a role in asylum seekers/refugees' psychosocial trauma (stigmatisation, insecurity, isolation). The chapter explored how these were perceived, in turn, to hinder asylum seekers/refugees' feeling of national belonging and national identity with the UK in ways similar to the government's policies discussed in *Chapter 2*. Nonetheless, *Chapter 5* found that there were perceptions of a favourable asylum coverage in Scottish newspapers, particularly the community newspapers. These influenced, among other factors discussed in *Chapter 4*, asylum seekers/refugees' prioritising a Scottish identity over British. The chapter went on to provide asylum seekers/refugees' own explanations for this kind of coverage and how they would like to be treated in order for the public to construct asylum seekers/refugees' identities in a positive light. This chapter therefore suggests that the media is a component factor in asylum seekers/refugees' identity forming and that such a role amounts to a paradox. This is because while parts of media coverage were widely believed to represent an 'imagined' Britishness, it also strengthened some interviewees' transnational belonging and identities culminating in the resilience of British multiculturalism.

In *Chapter 6*, the findings of the media monitoring were presented and interviewees' perceptions of media coverage that were explored in *Chapter 5*, and pedagogical accounts identified in *Chapter 2* were tested for. Also tested for were media and political discourses of asylum seekers/refugees in negative identities and as the cultural 'other', and the continuities and divergences between previous media depictions of the 1990s/mid-2000s. The chapter therefore found that interviewees' beliefs and experiences of media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees were in the main plausible and at times probably misplaced. It was found that much of the coverage continued to be pejorative, sensationalist and ideological; and there was 'othering' of asylum seekers/refugees and the construction of an 'imagined' British national identity and 'new racism' or 'dog whistle' politics. The key contribution of this

chapter is that it explored in more detailed the distinction in the treatment of asylum seekers/refugees between ‘Scottish’, ‘Scottish editions of Fleet Street’ and ‘Fleet Street’ newspapers. It revealed that the ‘Scottish’ press is less hostile than all UK newspapers monitored. It also explored how this political geography of news reporting of asylum as a ‘scare story’ or an issue of political significance is easily manipulated by sections of the media. The manipulation, it was argued, was to construct asylum as a threat to the national community that is implied to be British while subsuming the national identity of Scotland.

Chapters 7 & 8 further delved into these issues thus far explored in the thesis relating to migrants’ experiences and orientations to identity forming and its intersections with the media coverage. These chapters also synthesised findings of the research presented in previous chapters to critique theoretical and policymaking accounts relating to migrants’ belonging and identity formations in multinational and multicultural democracies. *Chapter 7* was an exploration of asylum seekers/refugees proactive engagement in identity building and ‘disidentification’, which constitute a kind of resistance to attempts by policymaking and media reporting to ‘integrate’ them around an ‘imagined’ Britishness. This chapter drew attention to the fact that having British citizenship would be instrumental in migrants’ belonging and identity forming to the UK and Scotland. Nonetheless, not having citizenship through naturalisation did not preclude migrants from undertaking responsible actions to develop a feeling of belonging to the UK and integrating into Britishness or Scottishness. While citizenship is possible through naturalising and birth that provides individuals with a formal membership and an official British identity, the chapter argued that Scottishness could not be attained this way. It is a reminder of why under devolved governance the ‘political’ and ‘national’ community and the ‘state’ might not be coterminous. It is also a reminder why British citizenship and British national identity might not always coincide.

The chapter went on to explore this intersection of citizenship and an individual’s identification with an ‘imagined’ Britishness through the proactive social actions among asylum seekers/refugees. It was considered that this constituted an expression of transnational identities. Nevertheless, the chapter highlights that integration may be at the affective or psychological level of ways of belonging into localised, national and transnational identities and argued that this had implications for the territorial constructions of the ‘nation’ and the state. The chapter therefore deployed interviewees’ practices to inform theoretical views that

Scottish devolution and its postcolonial reality are creating a new kind of citizenship in the UK. For instance, it was suggested that it would be spurious to assume that the 'nation' as a cultural community must correspond with the 'political community' and the 'state'. The chapter extrapolated from interviewees' experiences, meanings and contestations of identities to predict on asylum seekers/refugees' prospects of living in a future independent Scotland. It hypothesised that the less polarised debate over asylum among politicians and the Scottish press and the political support for migration expressed through less hostile social policies will enable asylum seekers/refugee participation and identification with the mainstream in Scotland. It also highlighted that the prioritising of civic identity over others and the traditional social justice credentials of Scottish politics on the whole resonate with asylum seekers/refugees' construction of Scottishness.

Chapter 8 ended the discussion by reiterating that belonging and identity formations are fluid, nuanced and complex. It explored that migrants' prioritising Scottishness over Britishness and expression of transnational identities would raise questions about a notion of Britishness that is skewed in favour of the majority White conception. The chapter reminded us that debates about citizenship are about claims making for rights for cultural recognition and respect by ethnic minorities in the state or the 'nation', including multinational states, who felt excluded from the cultural identities of the 'political community'. It was argued that this meaning of citizenship contradicts the 'Marshallian' model because the latter failed to recognise the ethnic and cultural diversities in political membership and that difference in cultural identities should not preclude access to British citizenship and access to rights by non-citizens. The implications of this conception of citizenship for Scotland were also highlighted. This is because migrants might not have British citizenship, but might have shared cultural belonging and identity with Scotland as was the case with this study's cohort. The chapter suggested that individuals' experiences of institutions such as the media could contribute to claims making to citizenship and attendant rights that come with it.

The chapter also suggested that there is media agency in asylum seekers/refugees' formations of national belonging and national identity. It was reiterated that the media agency amounts to a paradox because while much of the coverage has questioned ethnic minorities' ability to inculcate a feeling of belonging and integrate into a British national and cultural imaginary (Khan 2012a, b, 2013), it incidentally serves as a driver for asylum seekers/refugees'

transnational identities. Nonetheless, this paradox is inadvertent and reminded us of the precariousness in drawing media causality to asylum seekers/refugees ability to develop a feeling of belonging to and identity with an 'imagined' Britishness. The chapter argued that while acknowledging the risks of claiming media causality, we should at least prioritise the views of vulnerable groups in exploring issues of mediated belonging and identity. The chapter therefore discussed asylum seekers/refugees' claims that the media hostility have psychosocial consequences for them, which in turn contribute to their fragility of national belonging and identity.

The chapter finished on why interviewees' meanings of the coverage could serve as an asylum seeker paradigm in understanding and describing labelling and 'dog whistle' politics in asylum reporting, and offered the possibility of re-evaluating the concept. This would be consistent with prioritising the views and analytical power of subordinate groups, who are victims of media 'scare stories' and its embedded 'dog whistling' as well as the exigencies of political reporting.

9.2 Gaps for Future Research

This thesis, as is the case with any empirical study with financial, time and methodological constraints, does not claim to provide a comprehensive analysis of the diverse experiences of asylum seekers/refugees in Scotland. Neither does it claim to cover all socio-demographics of asylum seekers/refugees. It therefore has some limitations, which adds to the gaps that have been identified and would benefit from empirical investigation. These are as follows:

i. Scottish Devolved Governance & International Obligations

The devolved governance relationship of Scotland, as a 'nation', within the UK, as a 'state', provides the terrain for experiencing and conflicting citizenship processes of belonging and identity, integration and social cohesion. The UK state with its 'restrictive' and 'assimilationist' approach to immigration and citizenship is at odds with Scotland as a postcolonial nation with devolved governance, which the UK is not. Scotland, for example, has championed an 'open' approach to immigration that has led to asylum-friendly policies. It has been suggested that asylum seekers in Scotland might enjoy certain rights of social inclusion including access to higher education because of devolved governance that their

counterparts elsewhere in the UK could not have. These factors could have influenced a less hostile asylum reporting in the Scottish press, at least from the perspectives of interviewees that contributed to their preference for Scottishness over Britishness. Scotland, as a 'stateless nation', cannot grant asylum to individuals fleeing persecution, even though, as prescribed under international humanitarian law, it has a legal and moral obligation to uphold the human rights of individuals in its devolved governance. In addition, Scotland cannot grant British citizenship, which the majority of interviewees felt could reduce the structural inequalities and exclusion, and hence improve their formation of national belonging, identity and participation. Interviewees were cognisant of the fact that Scotland cannot grant them asylum, nor bestow British citizenship on them. Nonetheless, access to social citizenship and a more asylum-friendly coverage was perceived to contribute to their preference for a Scottish national belonging and identity. This would strengthen views that the agency, which minorities had to determine their belonging and identity-formations in the multi-level nation-states of the UK, was complex and nuanced, and yet to be thoroughly investigated (Bond 2006: 617). It would therefore be an interesting empirical project to discover whether similar perspectives existed among England-based asylum seeker/refugee migrants. In addition, it would be insightful to investigate how asylum seekers/refugees based in England would perceive these policies in Scotland. It would help in understanding the relationship between policy formulation and social processes of citizenship among England-based asylum seekers/refugees.

This thesis did not specifically set out to examine how asylum seekers/refugees' conceptualise Britishness or Scottishness. Although attempts were made in *Chapters 7 & 8* to extrapolate from interviewees' views some meanings of these national identities, this area deserves to be thoroughly investigated.

ii. Scottish Media Context, Belonging & Identity

The finding in this thesis of a predominance of an inflammatory and stereotypical coverage of asylum seekers/refugees in parts of the UK press is not new (Leudar *et al.* 2008; Smart *et al.* 2006). However, there has been little analysis in the literature of the asylum-friendly or innocuous coverage of asylum seeker children, particularly in the anti-asylum press. While this thesis addressed this gap, more research is needed in this area.

Further research is also required to find out what was responsible for the propensity of ‘Indigenous-local’ newspapers such as *the Evening Times* to accord asylum seekers/refugees an innocuous or friendly coverage. Additionally, further investigation of the ways in which the Scottish and London press manifest nationalist discursive formations in the coverage of asylum is required. The thesis attempts to offer some explanations. Newspapers, which have a local or regional circulation, have a propensity to be asylum-friendly, rather than being hostile, a finding that resonated with that of Finney (2005). Another supposition is that media elites were inclined to respond to the temper of their local readership, which intrinsically had implications for saleability of newspapers. It was also proposed that prioritising a Scottish national identity in some Scottish newspapers may be a subtle form of expressing Scottish nationalism. There continues to be a lacuna in understanding the above hypotheses that this thesis generated relating to the regional and national variation in the treatment of asylum seekers, an area in which research is needed.

This thesis has explored that asylum seekers/refugees experience psychosocial trauma in the contemporary western state (the UK), that interviewees blamed on media’s pejorative distortions and hysteria or in interviewees’ vernacular ‘scaremongering’ and ‘Chinese whispers’ about asylum. This finding was fortuitous, as the study was not designed to investigate the psychosocial impact of media coverage of asylum. While this develops our understanding of news media’s role in the emotional wellbeing of forced migrants in the UK, and that such a phenomenon should not only be attributed to state agency through anti-asylum policymaking, more research is needed in this area.

iii. The Socio-demographic Balance

This study’s cohort, except for one, has experienced some form of media coverage on TV and newspapers. They are educated, have knowledge of English and are therefore empowered. It has not covered the many asylum seekers/refugees without English or education. Neither has it covered those who are ‘hidden’ from the authorities. Their experiences and understandings of belonging and identity in conjunction with media treatment of asylum seekers/refugees constitute a research gap that is needed to be filled. Focussing on this demographic of asylum seekers/refugees would be a much needed departure from the visible phenomenon in migration research (Koser and Lutz 2001: 13).

Another area that would benefit from empirical work is investigating the views of British citizens on claims and perceptions made by interviewees in this thesis. They include interviewees' perceptions of the benefits of their responsible social actions among British citizens and self-representations in evoking empathy, support and understanding of asylum as a humanitarian issue and facilitating good community relations. It would be insightful to investigate the beliefs and attitudes of British citizens who were beneficiaries of these interventions such as that of Anne Marie that was identified in *the Daily Record*, November 12, 2008 during the monitoring. This is to test whether interviewees' claims were misplaced. A similar investigation among journalists would tease out insights along these lines.

iv. Cultural Communication, Belonging & Identity

This thesis has discussed the way asylum seekers/refugees mobilise cultural capital for cultural production, cultural learning and interpretation or translation. It was also noted that many interviewees voluntarily served as interpreters or provided translation services for other asylum seekers/refugees. The ramifications of this social agency for belonging and identity formations, integration, inclusion and social cohesion were also discussed in *Chapter 7*. These issues would benefit from further investigation. This is with a view to find out how such cultural and linguistic knowledge among asylum seekers/refugees could be tapped into to provide access and participation in service provision and facilitate inclusion that is crucial for developing feelings of belonging and identification with the locality, Scotland and the UK.

It has also been discussed that parents acted as cultural repositories for their offspring and therefore mediated and interpreted the values, norms and beliefs of the cultural heritage of their homelands. They probably did the same with Britishness and Scottishness. This action has implications for the younger generation's belonging and identity forming towards the UK, Scotland and the homelands of parents. This intergenerational dimension to cultural interpretation and communication (of host countries and migrants' homelands) and its intersection with belonging and identity forming is in need of urgent research. Also, worthy of investigation is finding out from British citizens including Scots whether participating in these cultural activities, mediates or influences their understanding and constructions of asylum seekers/refugees' cultures and identities in a positive light.

Furthermore, self-representation continues to be an area that is in need of further research. This thesis shows asylum seekers/refugees' preferences for representation. However, this study does not undertake an analysis of the content of the awareness raising, particularly the cultural production of asylum seekers/refugees to understand how they represented themselves. This area, as is the agency of asylum seekers/refugees in promoting good community relations and social cohesion, would benefit from further investigation. The responsible citizenship 'version' generated in *Chapter 8* would serve as a heuristic device for future research in this area.

9.3 Concluding Remarks

Overall, the thesis has explored the component factors that interviewees perceive to be facilitators and impediments to developing feelings of belonging to and identification with the nation or any other community among asylum seekers/refugees. It has therefore been difficult to determine whether there is a singular factor that plays a part in this vulnerable group of migrants' experiences of these processes. What can be safely claimed is that there is an aggregate of factors that contribute to asylum seekers/refugees' identity formations. Claims to and formations of national belonging and national identities are multiple, complex, contradictory and fluid. This would explain why interviewees' can claim that negative coverage can hinder feelings of Britishness and Scottishness while also claiming that positive coverage enable them to develop an identification with these national communities. Identity forming is also contingent and relational to their everyday experiences of social circumstances, policies and institutions of society. What we can therefore conclude is that migrants' experiences of social circumstances such as parenthood, social interaction, perceptions of others' constructions of them and dislocations from home; historical circumstances such as colonial ties with the host country; as well as powerful institutions of society such as policies of inclusion-exclusion and media coverage provide the context from which feelings of belonging and identity are evoked, contested and imagined.

In this regard, the facilitators or impediments to forced migrants' identity forming are similar in many respects to the broader UK population. For example, as others have found both Scots and English migrants residing in Scotland felt place of birth, ancestry and length of residency help shape their identification with Scottishness and Britishness (Kiely *et al.* 2006; Mccrone and Bechofer 2008; Bond and Rosie 2006). As with English migrants in Scotland, asylum

seekers/refugees also feel Scottish and or British because they felt welcome and accepted by locals. In addition, as forced migrants and marginalised, asylum seekers/refugees cited much of the negative constructions of them as not belonging to the UK or labelling by the media and locals to contribute to their fragility of feeling Scottish or British. This causes some of them to identify with their homeland national identities, a media dynamic that is similar to Kiely et al's finding among English migrants in Scotland. Kiely et al found that English migrants claimed to feel not welcome or accepted causing them to feel English because the Scottish press and Scot nationals' ascribe an English identity to them (2006: 484).

However, unlike the broader population of British citizens, there are other factors that come into play. Understandably, government policies and the attendant inequality that they subject asylum seekers to are perceived to be a hindrance to identifying with mainstream identities. There is also a cultural dynamic to formations of national belonging and national identities among ethnic forced migrants that is manifested in interviewees' cultural practices. These include organising cultural events and teaching their children about their homeland cultural heritage and values. In addition, while there is a decline of Britishness and the emergence of Scottishness (and Welshness) among the broader UK population because of the UK being associated with oppression and racism under British colonial rule, this study found a reverse effect. For many asylum seekers/refugees the colonial experience and its symbols and values build a feeling of belonging to and identification with the UK.

We can also conclude that belonging and identity formations cannot only be associated with nations or countries, but coexist in other domains such as area of residence, religion, social class and geographies of regions and continent. 'Shared values' and beliefs such as 'humanity' provide the locations or 'dislocations' from which identity is narrated and 'imagined' by some asylum seekers/refugees. Membership and identification is not just to the 'nation' or the political community, but beyond the territorial construction of the nation-state or indeed to the locality of residence. Like Scots, therefore, forced migrants do not equate national identity with citizenship or national territory. Forced migrants can become British citizens, but not claim or feel British as with many Scots for reasons that have been explained. In this respect, migrants can create spaces for their identity forming, can have their own meanings and markers of belonging and identity and can seek to influence others such as

locals' orientations to and constructions of migrant identities. These meanings of national belonging and national identity may be different to those prescribed by policymakers. Belonging and identity are achievable on the volition of migrants irrespective of having citizenship and therefore not necessarily contingent upon having 'Marshallian' rights.

Another conclusion can be that ideas of 'intersectionality' and 'translocational positionality' are useful for understanding interviewees' experiences of belonging and identity. These analytical concepts enable a deeper understanding of the nuanced and 'hyphenated' national identity formations, national affiliations and the complexity of migrants' experiences of belonging and identity markers in Scotland and the UK. Unlike previous studies including those of Saeed et al (1993) and Hussain and Miller (2007) that have been simplistic in explaining the 'hyphenated' identities of British Pakistanis in Scotland, these analytical concepts tell us more about the diversity and nuanced nature of identity markers of Scottishness or Britishness of Scotland-based migrants. For example, they enable us to understand that change in social status such as parents facilitate asylum seekers/refugees' sense of belonging to and identification with Scotland and the UK. The dislocations from their homelands and having children made them resigned to their 'refugeehood', which in turn, played a part in developing identification with host country. We also learned that the longer an individual resided in a place the more likely they develop an emotional attachment to it. This would explain why refugees who are likely to have had longer residency in the UK or Scotland were found to easily say they identify with Scottishness or Britishness in comparison to asylum seekers with lesser residency. In this regard, social status intersects with the ways forced migrants develop feelings of belonging to and identifying with the 'nation'. Moreover, 'intersectionality' enable a deeper sociological understanding by examining not only the discursive patterns (views, perceptions and understandings), but also at migrants' practices and actions. Both concepts enable us to examine how social practices and actions among asylum seekers/refugees offer 'locations', 'dislocations' and 'positionalities' for expressing, negotiating and contesting forms of belonging to the 'nation'.

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Appendix 1

List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Nationality	Gender	Religion	Status
Sha	Iraqi	Male	Muslim	Refugee
Ma	Somali	Female	Muslim	Refugee
Nie	Zambian	Female	Christian	ILR
Seth	Cameroonian	Male	Christian	ILR
Alberto	Chilean	Male	Christian	Refugee
Lima	Somali	Female	Muslim	Refugee
Haja	Somali	Female	Muslim	Refugee
Boyce	Malawian	Female	Christian	ILR
Leo	Rwandan	Male	Christian	Refugee
Dora	DRC	Female	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Beth	Sierra Leonean	Female	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Rael	Colombian	Male	Christian	Asylum seeker
Marie	Algerian	Female	Muslim	Asylum Seeker
Hael	Zimbabwean	Male	Christian	Asylum seeker
Elli	Burundi	Male	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Romi	Nigerian	Female	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Rash	Pakistani	Male	Muslim	Asylum Seeker
Tam	Rwandan	Male	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Fiso	Zimbabwean	Female	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Taja	Eritrean	Male	Muslim	Asylum Seeker
Vesy	DRC	Male	Christian	Asylum seeker
Tafa	Zimbabwean	Female	Christian	Asylum Seeker
Seti	Sierra Leonean	Male	Muslim	Asylum Seeker

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Background information

1. Occupation/political/education activities in homelands
2. Reasons for asylum
3. Occupation/political/education activities in the UK

B. Understandings of citizenship

1. What does it mean to be a citizen?
2. Do you see yourself as a British citizen?
3. What do you consider to be your rights/responsibilities as a citizen?
4. Do you have a feeling of belonging to, and identity with the Scotland/England/UK?
5. Do you participate in activities in your neighbourhood or anywhere?
6. What hinder/facilitate your belonging/identity/participation?

C. Experiences with the media - General

1. Type of media consumed and why
2. Access to media: barriers & facilitators
3. Ways they have interacted with journalists
4. Views about coverage of asylum seekers/refugees

D. Media's role in citizenship processes

1. How does the media coverage contribute to:
 - knowing your rights/responsibilities of being a British citizen
 - feeling of belonging/identity
 - participation in service delivery and other activities in neighbourhood, nation-wide(Scotland & England) and beyond
2. In what ways can the media/journalists help them to be British citizens?

E. Cross-checking Questions

1. Are there any other institutions that facilitate/hinder their rights/responsibilities, belonging/identity, and participation/inclusion?
2. Is it possible to be British/Scottish/English and Muslim?
3. Do you consider yourself as Scottish/English/British or any other national identity?
4. Have you contacted the media/journalists about the coverage or about any other issue?
5. How are you coping/contesting/supporting the media coverage?
6. Are there any other areas/issues you would like to talk about relating to the media coverage or any other thing?

Closing courtesies, reiterating confidentiality, seeking permission on how the data will be used.

APPENDIX 3

List of Newspapers

1. The Sun – Scotland, Sept 20, 2007
2. The Sun – England, Sept 20, 2007
3. The Sun - England, Oct 24, 2007
4. The Sun – England, Oct 31, 2007
5. The Sun – England, Dec 13, 2007
6. The Sun – England, Dec 20, 2007
7. The Sun – Scotland, Dec 20, 2007
8. The Sun – England, Dec 24, 2007
9. The Sun – England/Scotland, Jan 4, 2008
10. The Sun – England, Jan 19, 2008
11. Daily Mail – England, Feb 23, 2008
12. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Feb 5, 2008
13. Daily Mail – England, Jan 23, 2008
14. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 26 2008
15. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 26 2008,
16. Daily Mail – Scotland, Jan 25, 2008
17. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 31, 2008
18. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 26 2008
19. Mail on Sunday– England-Scotland, Jan 13 2008
20. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 12, 2008
21. Daily Mail –Scotland, Jan 10, 2008
22. Daily Mail – England, Jan 10, 2008
23. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 8, 2008
24. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Jan 7, 2008
25. Daily Mail –England/Scotland, Oct 2, 2007
26. Daily Mail –Scotland, Oct 15, 2007
27. Daily Mail –Scotland, Oct 27, 2007
28. Daily Mail –England, Dec 28, 2007
29. Daily Mail –England, Dec 27, 2007
30. Daily Mail –Scotland, Dec 22, 2007
31. Daily Mail – England- Dec 22, 07
32. Daily Mail – Scotland – Dec 21, 2007
33. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Dec 18, 2007
34. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Dec 18, 2007
35. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Dec 18, 2007
36. Daily Mail – England/Scotland, Dec 17, 2007
37. Daily Mail –England, Dec 5, 2007
38. Daily Mail –England, Dec 3, 2007
39. Daily Mail –England/Scotland, Dec 2, 2007
40. Daily Mail –England, Nov 27, 2007
41. Daily Mail –England, Nov 21, 2007
42. Daily Mail –England, Nov 16, 2007
43. Daily Mail –England, Oct 15, 2007
44. Daily Mail –England, Oct 6, 2007
45. Daily Mail –Scotland, Sept 29, 2007

46. Daily Mail – England, Sept 2, 2007
47. Sunday Express –England/Scotland, Dec 23, 2007
48. Sunday Express –England, Jan 20, 2008
49. Sunday Express –England, Feb 3, 2008
50. Daily Express – Scotland, Feb 5, 2007
51. Daily Express – Scotland, Feb 7, 2007
52. Sunday Express – England/Scotland, Feb 23, 2007
53. Sunday Express –Scotland, Jan 6, 2008
54. Sunday Express –Scotland, March 2, 2008
55. The Guardian, Sept 26, 2007
56. The Guardian, Nov 8, 2007
57. The Guardian, Nov 15, 2007
58. The Guardian, Nov 26, 2007
59. The Guardian, Dec 18, 2007
60. The Guardian, Dec 19, 2007
61. The Guardian, Dec 20, 2007
62. The Guardian, Jan 16, 2008
63. The Guardian, Feb 1, 2008
64. The Guardian, Feb 2, 2008
65. The Daily Telegraph, Scotland, Aug 4, 2007
66. The Sunday Telegraph, England, Oct 14,, 2007
67. The Daily Telegraph, England, Nov14, 2007
68. The Daily Telegraph, England, Nov 21, 2007
69. The Sunday Daily Telegraph, England, Dec 16, 2007
70. The Daily Telegraph, England, Dec 18, 2007
71. The Daily Telegraph, England, Dec 8, 2007
72. The Daily Telegraph, England, Dec 21, 2007
73. The Daily Telegraph, England, Dec 23, 2007
74. The Daily Telegraph, England, Jan 12, 2008
75. The Daily Telegraph, England, Nov 4, 2007
76. The Mirror, Jan 12, 2008
77. The Mirror – Scotland, Jan 8, 2008
78. The Mirror – Scotland, Jan 4, 2008
79. The Mirror – England, Dec 15, 2007
80. The Mirror – Scotland, Nov 22, 2007
81. The Mirror – Scotland, Sept 20, 2007
82. The Sunday Herald , Sept 30, 2007
83. The Herald, Oct 2, 2007
84. The Herald, Oct 14, 2007
85. The Herald, Oct 21, 2007
86. The Sunday Herald, Oct 7, 2007
87. The Sunday Herald, Oct 7, 2007
88. The Sunday Herald, Oct 7, 2007
89. The Herald, Dec 27, 2007
90. The Herald, Jan 4, 2008
91. The Herald, Feb 4, 2007
92. The Herald, Feb 4, 2008
93. The Scotsman, Feb 27, 2008
94. The Scotsman, Feb 5, 2008

95. The Scotsman, Dec 19, 2007
96. The Scotsman, Dec 24 2007
97. The Scotsman, Nov 3, 2007
98. Scotland on Sunday, Feb 18, 2007
99. The Daily Record, Feb 1, 2008
100. The Daily Record, Feb 11, 2008
101. The Daily Record, Nov 30, 2007
102. The Daily Record, Sept 19, 2007
103. The Evening Times, Feb 18, 2008
104. The Evening Times, Feb 5, 2008
105. The Evening Times, Dec 6, 2008
106. The Evening Times, Nov 27, 2008
107. The Evening Times, Nov 22, 2008
108. The Evening Times, Nov 6, 2007
109. The Evening Times, Oct 27, 2008
110. The Evening Times, Oct 22, 2007
111. The Evening Times, Oct 13, 2007
112. The Evening Times, Oct 10, 2007
113. The Evening Times, Oct 9, 2007
114. The Evening Times, Oct 8, 2007
115. The Evening Times, Sept 7, 2007
116. The Evening News, Nov 27, 2007
117. Evening News, Mar 7, 2008

APPENDIX 4

TABLE 1: An outline of major news events covered by newspapers surveyed

<p>September 2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scottish government announced policy to waiver university tuition fees for asylum seekers in Scotland. • Asylum seeker takes legal action to prevent his deportation.
<p>October 2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy prioritises the deportation of dangerous foreign criminals to asylum seekers. • Asylum policies reported as causing suffering and hardship among asylum seekers. • First coverage of the policy to grant ‘amnesty’ to asylum seekers.
<p>November 2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government won its case against an asylum seeker’s deportation appeal. • The missing ‘child benefits’ records.
<p>December 2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many asylum seekers granted stay under the ‘legacy case review’ policy. • Announcement of the ‘voluntary assisted return’ policy. • Nation-wide day of pro asylum protests against ‘harsh’ government policy regimes. • Legal ruling against deportation of child asylum seeker. • Deportation of ‘cancer woman’ to Ghana. • Home Office Secretary’s apology to parliament for misleading deportation figures. • Controversy of ‘illegal’ immigrants including asylum seekers working in the Home Office. • Britain to sign the EU Treaty. • Policy prioritises the deportation of dangerous foreign criminals to asylum seekers.
<p>January 2008</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asylum seeker wins compensation against detention. • Policy prioritises the deportation of dangerous foreign criminals to deportation of students with expired visa. • The launch of ‘mobile detention units’ to search and arrest asylum seeker deportees
<p>February 2008</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy to resume deportation of children asylum seeker and scrapping of child X-ray. • Verdict on trial of asylum seekers for rioting and arson at Harmondsworth Detention Centre. • Britain signs the EU Treaty.

APPENDIX 4

TABLE 2: A sample of headlines on key policies in newspapers surveyed

Asylum policy	Newspaper	Headline
'Deportation' and Right to Appeal & Legal Aid'	The Daily Mail - October 2, 2007 - December 2, 2007 - January 8, 2008 - January 12, 2008 The Mail on Sunday January 13, 2008	'£2.3M legal aid bill for asylum seekers' -[England] & 'Legal Aid Lunacy' - [Scotland] 'Soft-touch asylum claim as hundreds simply disappear' – [Scotland] '25,000 illegals 'ignored' every year' 'The legal tactic that lets asylum seekers stay here every week' Illegals face round-up by roaming prison vans'
	Sunday Telegraph - October 14, 2007	'Asylum crisis getting worse say officials'
	The Herald - January 8, 2008	'Tories cry 'spin' as target 4000 foreign prisoners are deported'
'Legacy Review Case'	Daily Mail - October 20, 2007 - December 18, 2007 - December 27, 2007 - December 28, 2007	Failed asylum seekers given £4,000 'bribes' to go home – including private school fees' 'AMNESTY FOR UP TO 165,000 ASYLUM SEEKERS; Blunder over lost Home Office files means...' 'Foreign criminals are given £2M in 'bribes' to go home' 'Bribes' to send refugees home may be kept if Tories win power'
	The Herald - October 7, 2007	'I want to pay back Scotland' 'Asylum the new dawn; huge numbers of asylum seekers given permission to stay in Scotland; optimistic mood as review starts to clear three-year backlog of requests' 'Take more refugees, urges UN'
	The Guardian - December 18, 2007	'Home Office grants 19,000 asylum seekers permission to remain: Cases reviewed in efforts to clear backlog from 1994: Illegal immigrant found working at Home Office'
	The Daily Telegraph - December 18, 2007	'Immigration 'amnesty' for 160,000'
'Voluntary Assisted Return'	The Daily Mail - December 17, 2007	'UK handout funds on Ostrich farm in Iran'
	Sunday Telegraph - December 16, 2007	'Asylum seekers' £4,000 'bribe' row. Revealed: 23,000 have shared £36M to return home...'Exclusive

